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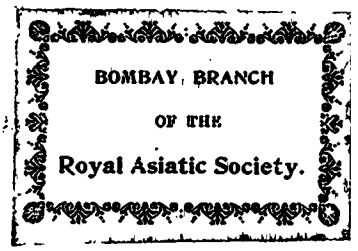

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EAST INDIA (SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 17 February 1868;—*for*,

COPY of DESPATCH from the Government of *India*, dated the 26th day of October 1867, enclosing CORRESPONDENCE respecting BRITISH and NATIVE SYSTEMS of GOVERNMENT in *India*."

India Office,
20 February 1868.

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary, Political Department.

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(*Sir Stafford Northcote.*)

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Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
25 *February* 1868.

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CORRESPONDENCE

REGARDING

THE COMPARATIVE MERITS

OF

BRITISH AND NATIVE ADMINISTRATION

IN

INDIA.

The GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL to SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, Bart., Secretary of State for India.

Foreign Department.—Political.

No. 169. Simla, October 26, 1867.

In the debate on the Mysore Succession, which occurred in the House of Commons on the 24th of May last, Lord Cranborne took occasion to institute a comparison between the British and Native systems of government in India, and to point out certain defects which appeared to him inherent in the former. The subject thus started appeared to the Governor-General of so interesting a character, and there seemed so much to be said on the opposite side of the question, that His Excellency caused a confidential Circular to be issued by our Under Secretary in the Foreign Department, calling on various officers of mark throughout the Indian Empire to submit an expression of their respective opinions in the matter. It was His Excellency's intention to forward to you demi-officially the general results of this inquiry. But the replies which have been elicited form so valuable a collection of papers, that His Excellency is unwilling that they should be lost.

2. Therefore, we now have the honour to forward officially, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, the accompanying printed copy of all the opinions we have received on the subject; and in order that the correspondence may be complete, we also transmit a copy of the Under-Secretary's circular.

3. Among the replies which we regard as specially deserving careful perusal, we would specify those of Sir Donald M'Leod, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and Sir R. Temple, Resident at Hyderabad.

4. Referring to the remarks of Sir Donald M'Leod on the subject of rewards, we are of opinion that the dissatisfaction in the Native mind has been not so much from the absence of the grant of Jagheers as from the manner in which they were in some cases granted after the late mutinies. No uniform scale was observed. Large assignments were made sometimes to persons who had done comparatively small service, while others who had the highest claim upon the gratitude of the British Government received relatively very limited reward. And no doubt a good deal of heart-burning and jealousy has been caused by this disparity. But we are not aware that the idea is extensively prevalent that the British Government would be more popular with the masses if it conferred Jagheers. These could at the most reach but few. And if, as Sir Donald M'Leod thinks should be the case, these are never to be resumed, the frequent conferment of Jagheers would be incompatible with the stability of the land revenue.

5. We would also call your attention to the very remarkable increase in the population of British Burmah as a conclusive proof of the popularity of the Administration.

6. We have had the replies printed for circulation among the Civil officers of Government. We think that, as showing the weak points as well as the excellencies of British administration, a knowledge of their contents will be beneficial generally.

We have, &c.
(signed) JOHN LAWRENCE,
G. N. TAYLOR,
W. MASSEY,
H. M. DURAND,
G. U. YULE.

DEMI-OFFICIAL CIRCULAR, from J. W. S. WYLLIE, Esq., Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.—(Dated Simla, July 1, 1867.)

You have doubtless remarked that, in the course of the recent debate in the House of Commons on the Mysore question, Lord Cranborne took occasion to doubt whether the system of British administration in India possessed, in the estimation of the Natives, any superiority over the method of government pursued in the independent States.

2. In any attempt to gauge the inclinations of the people, large allowance must of course be made for the principle of nationality. None of the various conquerors of India have been so alien to the population in colour, religion, and every other characteristic as ourselves. It would be unreasonable for us, therefore, to expect the same measure of popularity as would spontaneously accrue to a good Native ruler, or even to a chief whose administrative merits should not rise above an absence of great vices. Moreover, for one class of men—the clever, the bold, and the ambitious—the prospect which every Native State, however ill-administered, has to offer, of a "career open to talents," must invest that form of government with attractions superior to any which our system has to offer. Indeed, our system, with the monotonous and machine-like play of its centralized power, has much about it that is repellent, especially to the upper classes. Another circumstance not to be overlooked is, that under the influence of the tendency which all persons have to exaggerate the advantages of the "good old times," and to feel a present inconvenience more keenly than the recollection of a past misery, those who have been the longest under British rule are, of all Natives, the least conscious of its benefits, the most alive to its petty annoyances, and the foremost to forget their previous sufferings from despots of their own race.

3. All these points the Viceroy freely admits. But His Excellency, nevertheless, is of opinion that the masses of the people are incontestably more prosperous and (*suq. si bona nórint*) far more happy in British territory than they are under Native rulers; and he considers that the present would be a good opportunity for proving this belief by a concentration of statistics from different parts of India.

4. Therefore, under His Excellency's orders, I am to request that you will be so good as to favour me with any statements on this subject which your experience may enable you to furnish. It is desirable that your reply should be received as soon as possible, say by the 1st September as the latest date; and in case circumstances should prevent your submitting a detailed report, a simple indication of the record from which you know data to be obtainable will not be without its value.

MINUTE by R. H. DAVIES, Esq., Officiating Chief Commissioner of Oudh.—(Dated July 16, 1867.)

Lord Cranborne's argument appears to be this,—

A number of small well-governed States in India would be more conducive to the political and moral advancement of the people than the present British Government, because—

(1) The rudeness and simplicity of Native administration, though intolerable in Europe, have a rough and ready efficiency well calculated for dealing with great emergencies, such as famine;

(2) And have a fitness and geniality in the eyes of the people which compensate for any material evil which may co-exist;

(3) Migrations of Natives from Native States to British territory are unheard of, whilst the contrary case is common;

(4) Owing to listlessness, heavy heedlessness, and extreme centralization, the British Government, is, in a considerable degree, inefficient, and occasionally productive of terrible misery, as, for instance, the Orissa famine.

The conclusion is, that the appropriate administration for India is one which will promote the happiness of the people, be suitable to their tastes, and provide for their moral development, not as Anglo-Saxons, but in their own way; and that any other must end in disastrous failure.

The Viceroy, on the other hand, is of opinion that the masses of the people are more prosperous and (*sua si bona nórint*) far more happy in British territory than they are under Native rulers.

I observe, in the first place, that a rude federalism of petty States existed in Hindoostan at the time of the Mahomedan conquest. We are able to judge of the intellectual and moral development of the people at that time. The masses were prohibited from studying. The Brahmins alone had some knowledge, but no demonstration of its erroneous and limited character is required. The chief moral phenomena are the influence of caste and the social disparities and degradation of the large majority springing therefrom. The sacerdotal tribe appear to have seized the wealth of the country, for the plunder of the temples yielded to the Mahomedan invaders immense treasure and jewels.

The Mahomedan administration which succeeded extended over nearly 800 years. Its history is a continued scene of "rebellions, massacres, and barbarous conquests."

In one main respect all Indian Governments, small and large, are similarly situated. With the acquiescence of the people they derive their revenues from the surplus produce of the soil. Their respective administration of these is the true touchstone of their merits.

The petty Hindoo States must have been in a continual state of warlike preparation. Hostilities amongst themselves were always threatening or going on. Their revenues must necessarily have been spent in entertaining clansmen and militia, in superstitious endowments, and in showy retinues.

The Mahomedan Government was under similar obligations on a larger scale. But in its palmy days, and under the great Emperors, we find a considerable expenditure on works of public utility, such as roads, caravanserais, and canals. We find also occasional attempts to place the land revenue in a position to yield a great income without oppression to the cultivators. But these happier periods are rare, and for many decades before the advent of the British, the Mahomedan Government was impotent for good, and the empire in the worst state of civil and military confusion.

Possessed of the land revenue, I will not say that we have always administered it well. In Bengal it was at first oppressively assessed, then rashly limited in favour of the great zemindars to the injury of the small landholders and cultivators, then inconsiderately exacted to the ruin of these same zemindars. But the quality distinguishing ours from a native Government is, that it is capable of gradual improvement. In other parts of India, both the public right in the revenue, and the private rights of persons connected with the soil, have been more carefully maintained.

Take the case of the North-Western Provinces. The mass of the population are cultivators of the soil. In what does their happiness consist? Their physical well-being is bound up with the share of produce they can keep for themselves and their families. Under any Native rule this was liable to fluctuate at the will of the agents of Government. By our Revenue Settlement of 1833 the Government demand on the proprietors was fixed for 30 years, and in a large proportion of cases the cultivators virtually obtained fixed tenures under leases for the same period. Since then, the Ganges Canal has been made, supplying a considerable area with irrigation, rendering the yearly produce secure, a net work of roads has been thrown over the country, and a trunk line of railway traverses the whole length. We find from the census taken in 1865 that the population (excluding the Hill District of Kumaon) is 361 souls to the square mile; that it has increased during the last 10 years but slightly* if at all; that cultivation has been augmented by more than one

* It is unfortunate that more dependence cannot be placed on the census returns of the North-Western Provinces for 1853 and 1865. The latter show a slight *decrease* of population, and appreciable increase of cultivation, and also an increase in the proportion of the non-agricultural to the agricultural class. These results may be falsified by future returns, but if correct, they form the best evidence that society is slowly progressing, and more could not yet be hoped for.

million of acres; that the percentage of cultivation is higher than that of Great Britain. I have no doubt that statistics for the Punjab would give results still more striking; for there the area, still uncultivated, is far more extensive, and the struggle of a dense population has yet to commence. Is it probable that the same results would have accrued under any Native Government? Is it not certain that, if by a fortunate accident they were initiated, they would be destroyed by a change in a succession of rulers?

But I do not admit that, wherever the British Government limits its own demand, and consigns to a few large proprietors to deal as they please with the teeming agricultural population, it does not run a considerable risk of placing them in a position no better than that which they occupied under Native rulers.* For the rent taken from the tiller of the soil entirely settles his condition for better or worse. If a bare livelihood is left him, it is hopeless to look for material, much less mental improvement. The words of Necker became strictly applicable:—

"Après avoir établi les lois de propriété, de justice, et de liberté, on n'a presque rien fait encore pour la classe la plus nombreuse de citoyens. Que nous importent vos lois de propriété? pourraient-ils dire nous ne possédons rien; vos lois de justice? nous n'avons rien a défendre; vos lois de liberté? si nous ne travaillons pas, demain nous mourrons."

It is, *then*, the proprietors of land, not the British Government, that decide the happiness or misery of the great bulk of the people. The British policy up to the time of the mutinies nobly availed itself of the despotic power, to which it succeeded, to place the mass of the population in a position to keep for themselves some portion of the profits of their industry. With forethought they could create capital and all the advantages which it gives rise to. It is too early to say whether they have yet done so, but it is fully proved that they have not sunk into the dangerous pauperism unhappily preying on large sections of the common people in Europe. This beneficent design was also truly politic. The classes connected with the land are in every nation those whose habits and circumstances are most unfavourable to restlessness and combination. The elements of our dominion make the quiet submission and neutrality of the majority indispensable to its prosperity. The agricultural population, contented or even passive, we may then meet on equal terms the smaller but more active and ambitious sections of the subjected races. The rural tribes, oppressed or irritated, would form the very fulcrum that has as yet always failed the conspiracies of our enemies.

The higher classes were maintained, under the Native Governments, from the land revenues, by assignments more or less valid; and as we always succeed these Governments when in their decrepitude, we invariably find the finances embarrassed by a multitude of extravagant claims. We cannot dispense with a large revenue for purposes of defence, administration, and improvement. It is a *sine qua non* of our position, and we must elect whether to grant what can be spared to those who have hitherto shared the income of the State, or to remit it in favour of the numerous class connected with the soil. To accomplish both objects in any sufficient degree is difficult, perhaps impossible.

In the first case, we may partially console a small influential section for what they have lost by the change of government; in the second we provide for the diffusion of increased wealth amongst the industrious community. The first plan was followed in Bengal and Oudh, the second to a great extent in Madras, Bombay, the North-Western Provinces, Sind, and the Punjab. It is not of small importance that the dearest associations of the people bind them to the homesteads of their birth. They

* The following observations made by Dadabhái Naoroji at a meeting of the East India Association appear to me perfectly true:—

"The mass of the people, even up to the present time, understand but little of the 'benefits' of British rule. To them the existing Government has always been the *Sircar*, whether it was Mahomedan, Hindoo, or British, has not mattered much. The poor labourer has hitherto had his simple criterion. If he is able to earn and enjoy his little without disturbance, and had his creed tolerated, and his feelings not hurt, all is right with him, and his ideal of a happy condition is realized, no matter who rules over him. If, on the contrary, any causes bring starvation to him, or outrage his religion or his feelings, all is wrong with him, and he curses his raj, be it English, Mahomedan, or Hindoo."

The same speaker argued that the restoration of Mysore to the descendants of the Hindoo Rajah whom we set up would revive the confidence of the Native Princes in our good faith. Without saying whether our good faith was involved in the question or not, I fully admit the necessity and good policy of keeping all treaties in the sense they were made. But my decided opinion is, that the Native Princes would gladly free themselves from British control. As Sirdar Nihal Singh Chachee constantly used to say "*unki niyat aurhai*" (they are of another mind). They only await their opportunity, and look on all concessions only as so many tricks gained. It is morally impossible that they should do otherwise.

cling to the soil instinctively. Its sub-division amongst all the sons is almost universally the immemorial law both of Hindoos and Mahomedans. Its possession gives them a social status. It is parted with only in the last extremity. I am not now affirming whether the sentiment is good or bad. But it is perhaps the only prejudice which is common to all tribes and sects, and cannot safely be neglected by foreign rulers.

I am forced to make these preliminary remarks, as the manner in which the land revenue is settled is the first, second, and third consideration in the question of the prosperity of the people of India. In my view our Government will be permanently successful wherever this important question is dealt with favourably to the greater number.

I will now address myself to Lord Cranborne's argument in detail.

(1.) The simplicity of Native administration is the simplicity of unchecked despotism. If there were any guarantee for good government, the evils and inconveniences of setting up artificial barriers in a country, the geographical boundaries of which are marked by nature, would of course be lessened. But no such guarantee could be afforded. We may perhaps take Cashmere as a specimen of a small Native State. Here the Maharajah, aided by his Dewans, Jawala Sahai and Kirparam, regulates everything by his own orders. The cultivators are secure enough in their tenures, but there is no limit to the demand on them. It is impossible for them to put together capital. The wages of the shawl weavers are fixed by authority. The price of rice is settled arbitrarily at the State granaries where it has been received in satisfaction of land revenue demands. The Maharajah and his chief officers all engage in trade. Heavy export and import duties, from which they alone are exempt, are levied at the frontier and frequently again at towns. In a word it may be said that no chance of extracting money from the people is omitted. How is it spent? On troops kept up principally for show; on any fancy which the Maharajah may take into his head, or placed in a secret treasury in expectation of future events. The Maharajah is intelligent, and governs according to his lights. It is not my intention to say anything derogatory of him; but I am at a loss to conceive how a Government so constituted has any advantage over ours in dealing with an emergency like a famine. If a famine occurred elsewhere he would probably prohibit the export of grain from his own country, and I believe did so in 1861, for the Native Governments generally are too prone to regulate prices and thereby to discourage the transport of commodities.

(2.) That there is a certain fitness and congeniality in a Native Government in the eyes of the Native population may be admitted. It may be further conceded that the Brahmins and Rajpoots, who constitute an ecclesiastical and martial aristocracy, have sentiments of loyalty and attachment for a Hindoo Prince of ancient title. But they have been so many centuries under the Mahomedan yoke that these feelings are very much blunted, and to the mass of the people they are what the Magyars are to the Croats. Every people too have a preference for their own customs, and enjoy their brilliant exhibition in the persons and retinue of their Chiefs. But I believe this to be a secondary feeling. A Rajah, in a silver howdah, fanned with peacock fans, followed by a train on caparisoned elephants, is, I doubt not, rather an agreeable spectacle even to an ordinary ryot. But if his sugarcane be not cut without payment, or himself pressed as a porter, I conceive that all illusion soon vanishes from his mind. Much depends on the personal character of the Rajah, and more on that of his officers, the undeniable truth being that the bad are far more common than the good, and all enforce the feudal maxim, "le peuple est taillable et corvéable a merci." To the higher classes, again, a Native Government holds out great attractions. It is a lottery in which one day or other any adventurer may draw a prize. Hope for ambition, honourable employment, a jageer, a farm of the revenue, the deputyship of a province, the command of an army, these he may chance to obtain in a Native, but cannot look for in British, territory. On the other hand, the reverses are sudden and desperate. Like the Rajah of Tiloohee in Oudh, he may find this estate given in jageer to the Bhow Begum, or like the minister, Hakeem Mehdee, be compelled to cross the Ganges, or, like Ilmasali Khan, bequeath his property to his relations only by transport before his death to Furruckabad.

(3.) In migrations from one territory to another, we must know who it is who migrates before we can judge of their tendency. The condition of a mere ryot, I cannot too often repeat, is altogether determined by the nature of his tenure. If he can get land on better terms in a Native State, he will probably migrate from a populous district, though he may in future live under a worse general administra-

tion. I have heard of several ryots leaving Oudh for Nepal, where the ryot is in direct relations with the State, and has a secure tenure at a fixed proportion of the produce. I cannot, however, imagine a ryot with a right of occupancy, in even the smallest holding, migrating unless ruined. The census of the North-Western Provinces is quite sufficient evidence that there is no emigration from thence on any perceptible scale, and that what has taken place has been since the annexation, when large numbers of ryots returned to their ancestral homes from the districts adjoining Oudh. The Collector of Allahabad, reporting on the census, observes:—"The density of the population in Mouzah Chowharee was well known long ago, and was owing to the oppression in Oudh under the old *régime*. It is said that, for miles beyond our border, Oudh was 'be chiragh' (desolated), that the inhabitants of whole villages came and settled in our territory, though they still cultivated their own lands in Oudh." I do not wish to lay much stress on these facts; but I will cite one passage* to show the kind of migrations which the history of Native government records.

Colonel Wilks gives the following description of the Walsah in the South of India:—

"On the approach of an hostile army the unfortunate inhabitants of India bury underground their most cumbrous effects, and each individual man, woman, and child above six years of age (the infant children being carried by their mothers), with a load of grain proportioned to their strength, issue from their beloved homes and take the direction of a country (if such can be found) exempt from the miseries of war, sometimes of a strong fortress, but more generally of the most unfrequented hills and woods, where they prolong a miserable existence until the departure of the enemy; and if this should be protracted beyond the time for which they have provided food, a large portion necessarily dies of hunger. The people of a district thus deserting their homes are called the '*Walsah*.' It is a proud distinction that the 'Walsah' never departs on the approach of a British army when unaccompanied by Indian allies."† Such migrations leave no doubt of the character of the government under which they occur.

(4.) But are they worse than the Orissa famine? A separate report by Special Commissioners having been furnished on this subject, it is needless for me to enter upon it at length. But it were an error to suppose that Native Governments ever prevented famines. It is plain that our Government may altogether abstain from interference, and yet that throughout the greater part of the Continent the improvements which have been made in the communications must ordinarily facilitate the transport of grain to the distressed parts. Special local circumstances may exist justifying the interposition of the Government, but generally, wherever roads and carriage are available, the natural action of trade will most quickly and abundantly supply deficiencies.

In the famine in the North-Western Provinces in 1861, grain for the first time was sent down from Umritsur to Delhi. Had the Punjab been under Native government, probably the export would have been prohibited. The people of the Punjab still date from a disastrous famine which occurred there before we annexed the country. Bengal also was virtually under a Native system of administration when the great famine of 1770 A. D. occurred. It is admitted by Colonel Baird Smith that, owing to the accumulation of wealth consequent on the Settlement of 1833 A. D., the population suffered much less in 1861 than in 1837; and without any reference to the case of Orissa, I maintain that the policy of fixing the land revenue favourably for the agricultural classes generally, rather than in the interest of a few great chiefs, is the most effectual way to mitigate the effects of such famines by stimulating the industry of the cultivator, increasing production throughout the Continent so that one part shall be able to supplement another, and creating those habits of forethought, abstinence, and accumulation, which it is in vain to hope for under other circumstances. Thus, too, only can a permanent and increasing surplus revenue be secured for the construction of those works of irrigation which are absolutely necessary to aid the exertions of the people. I say too, that, under a Native government, though at intervals the people may be fairly treated, and public works made, yet there is no *security* for good administration, and a line of imbeciles

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* It must be remembered that many of the Oudh cultivators had sinister reasons for living outside the Nawabee jurisdiction; and that, although cultivation has largely increased in Oudh since annexation, the districts on the Ganges were previously highly cultivated and populous.

† Wilks' South of India, Vol. 1, page 303.

may succeed to an Akbar. It has been truly said that it is not necessary that a people should govern themselves, but that they should have security for good government. Under Native rule they have none.

Certainly we are bound to promote the happiness of the people. But who are the people, and what their happiness? In the North-Western Provinces, out of a population of 30,000,000, more than 18,000,000 are Soodras, the Brahmins about 3,500,000, the Chuttrees about 3,000,000. The dominant active land-holding classes are thus in a great minority. The Soodras have been immemorially treated as an inferior race of serfs. The only legal protection they have ever received has been from the British Government, with the fall of which it would at once cease. They will for long continue even under us socially depressed. The awakening of a people from the torpor and depression of ages is always, and perhaps beneficially, a slow process. But under us only have large bodies of these lower classes, numerically so predominant, the chance of bettering their condition. As it is, they largely share in the pervading benefits of British rule. Wherever a limit be placed on the rents taken from them, and their tenure be fixed, their prospects are infinitely improved, and they can then appreciate security of person and property, and the facilities for movement common to all classes. The Brahmins and Chuttrees again, though restrained from oppressing the cultivators, enjoy their social superiority, and are very generally in independent possession of proprietary holdings moderately assessed with the Government revenue. It would perhaps be impossible for a Government to do more than has been done for the far greater part of this large population. Are they then happy? Who can reply? But it can be said that no political measures impede their well-being, and this is the affair of a Government. Moreover, it may be added that "their tastes have been suited," for the great mass are agriculturists, whose chief attachment is to their lands and villages, and in these their occupation is secured. Their moral development is certainly backward, but I am not aware that there is any design of casting it in an Anglo-Saxon mould. The only direct agency at work in connection with the Government is the Educational Department. Popular instruction is proceeding at a rapid rate, though its results are not yet conspicuous. But doubtless other influences are also silently in operation. The codification of the law, the multiplication of vernacular newspapers, the facilities for locomotion, the growth of trade, are potent stimulants of the popular mind. Still none is exclusively Anglo-Saxon; they are expressions of the ideas of Europe during the last century, and have already raised at least one nation (that perhaps the least unlike orientals) to a considerable elevation. Can there be a clearer proof of the penetration of Western ideas than the criticisms one hears daily from Natives who cannot speak English? These constantly imply the responsibility of the Government to the people, and would sound revolutionary to many English ears.*

* The following extract from a Native newspaper exemplifies the rude shock sustained by the conservative ideas of the time. It quite represents the sentiments of the Indian Faubourg St. Germain:—

"It is said that in this generation knowledge has become so cheap that one and all, high and low, butchers, shoemakers, tailors, and all of low caste sit in shops reading English books; and late in the evening the budmashes (bad characters) collect together and walk about the city of Lahore, and when they arrive at the houses of dancing women they commence talking obscenity, such filthy language in English, that, may God protect us from it! Those who hear it become quite ashamed. Since such people as these were entertained in the Government Courts, those who had never seen a mat before now dream of bedsteads; and those who once had not a mat to sit down upon, now have chairs given to them; and thus, like the *chinka* the cat pulls down, they have lost their tempers. They claim equal position with the great and respectable, and even look down on them. The respectable are breathless, and have sealed up their lips. It is necessary for people to remember their origin, but these have become so haughty and proud, as even the most wealthy were not in former days, when such as these could not present themselves at the door of a Durbar, but went about with downcast looks in presence of respectable people. Now they purposely strut, or strike out with their feet, walking. It is true that God does not allow any one's arrogance to stand, and now the respectable are suffering for their haughtiness and pride. This cheap knowledge for the lower classes has many disadvantages. The first is, that they are like the beggar who becomes suddenly rich, and who does not lose his beggarly ways. Secondly, everything will become dear when low caste people give up their legitimate professions and become writers, as the respectable classes are not likely to take up the work the lower classes discard; therefore, those who will not do such work will become gradually poor and be beggared; many have already become so. If any gentleman is in want of a Munshi, he can take his choice from a thousand in the city of Lahore, who think Rs. 5 enough, and feel grateful too for it. It is worthy of notice that coolies receive Rs. 8 on the rail, while the respectable classes are in want of daily food; because some of the lower castes are entertained on English and Persian, and when they are discharged they go back to their own professions, as they do not consider it any disgrace to follow their own professions. But the writer by profession cannot do other work, and if he should try to gain his

Surely we may take courage from the transformation of ITALY. It would indeed be rash to predict, it is in my opinion not even wise to wish, that the moral development of the people of India will be confined to an English model. Yet it is quite impossible to read the speeches of Cavour without perceiving how thoroughly his opinions were leavened by the ideas predominant in England since the emancipation of the Roman Catholics. How were the men, capable of receiving these ideas, bred? I believe that no one will dispute that this intellectual regeneration began under the despotism of Napoleon, and without it would never have commenced. The first demands of the revived nationality were for the restoration of the Code Napoleon, and the repair of the roads constructed by the great Emperor. Under its small Native Governments, the Italian moral and political character remained for centuries stationary and pitiable. Its elevation was produced by foreign influence, and the same process is slowly going on in British India.

It may be thought that I servilely adhere to the traditional principles of the British Government in insisting on a popular settlement of the land revenue as the foundation of physical, and consequently of moral and intellectual, progress. But I can hardly express my ideas better than in the words of Sir Charles Napier, who came to India late in life, and with no prepossessions in favour of its government. Speaking of his partial resumption of jagheers, he writes:—"My motives for this step are that a host of poor ryots, hitherto slaves, not only to the Ameers but to the Jagheerdars, will be enfranchised and enabled to live in comfort if industrious; and I know that the nobles can never be good or contented subjects, unless we give them public employment and honour them. When civilization advances they will, under this system, find themselves rich, and they will embark in mercantile pursuits and agricultural improvements, because they will find their property safe, and need not, as heretofore, make themselves formidable as military chiefs to retain it. But had I left them in possession of their enormous jagheers and their military tenures and their royalties, they would have always been dangerous subjects. We have now put them down as military chieftains, and we can keep them down because of their semi-barbarism; but hereafter we should find it very difficult to deal with their more civilized sons, if they continue to hold such immense tracts of land which advancing civilization will change from wastes to fruitful possessions. Even under any system they will become very powerful; but I have established a counter-check by opening a way to raise a race of independent farmers attached to the Government."*

Many persons, whose opinions I respect, consider the policy of which the above is a rude outline condemned by the events following the mutiny in Oudh. It would

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livelihood by taking up any other trade, his respectability and the respectability of his ancestors must suffer; such men as these are driven to hardships and beggary for their food. Thirdly, it is disrespectful for the lower ranks (or low castes) to sit in presence of those above them (the *saheb logues* for instance). All who are read in the English language cannot do without chairs and tables, nor can they do work of the sirkars; and fourthly, the respectable have, for their own purposes, to bow down to the low; and because the low are puffed up with their own pride, nothing can be gained from them, and the honour of the respectable suffers by this."

* The following lately appeared in the *Som Prokash*, Vernacular newspaper, and is a fair reflection of popular feeling:—

"The land has been repeatedly invaded by conquerors and disturbed by internal commotion. The powers of India have repeatedly been ruined, and the crops destroyed from the time of Mahmood of Guznee up to the time of the Mahratta Chief, Shibdás Ráo and Pindaree Ahmed Khan; but in a few years they resumed their former appearance. And why? Because of the nature of the land settlement. The agriculturists have, generation after generation, cultivated the same land, and they have become as attached to it as if it was their own, and, therefore, in spite of all difficulty, have again and again put forth their endeavours and clad their fields with green. Our cultivators are by no means wealthy, yet they are not in want of food, nor are they discontented with the old ploughs and the ancient modes of cultivation. They care but little what changes take place in the Government, so long as cultivation is not too much interfered with; if it is, they become discontented. Practically they are the possessors of the soil. In former times Mahomedan rulers used to resume talooks and jagheers; but, this species of oppression was felt only by the zemindars. The land changed hands, but the tenants' rights were not affected. This plan being in use in the Native States, the cultivators there are better off than in British territory. No zemindar wishes to oust a ryot from the land of his father, and of course when necessity requires it, the latter is even ready to procure more than his rent to assist the zemindar. Amongst all the rules of the British Government referring to land, none are more desirable than the permanent settlement system. But even in that there is a flaw, viz., the cultivator's right is not determined. The zemindars are always endeavouring to establish in Court their own right to enhance the rents, but the tenants do not consent to this. They are ready to give the zemindar quietly whatever else he may be in want of beyond his share of rent, but they are not ready to assent publicly to the zemindar's right to increase their rent. It is these disputes which prevent the advance of agriculture, and where they are common, the people are very poor. The system, on which the British Government work, is such that if there was no flaw in the land settlement, not only would the agriculturists be comfortable, but the land itself would be in a far better condition. Therefore, it is but right to endeavour to execute a permanent settlement with the tillers of the soil direct."

be too long a digression to enter into this argument at length. Suffice it to say that there is no proof whatever or reasonable presumption that the Talookdars, if they had been settled with at annexation, would have adhered to the British side. My individual opinion is that they would have behaved exactly as they did.

Many acted under the impulse of individual character; but it is generally understood that Maharajah Maun Singh, to whose example the majority looked, while not accepting the bribes we offered him in the shape of promised jagheers, took no part against us, until Havelock retired after vainly attempting to advance from the Ganges to Lucknow. Maun Singh considered that our rule was over; and I am persuaded that he would have come to the same conclusion had his talooka been left with him.* I am much confirmed in this opinion by the conduct of the Talookdars whose estates lay across the Gogra, all of whom were settled with. Nevertheless, they were amongst the most obstinate rebels, and several suffered the confiscation of their estates rather than avail themselves of the Queen's Amnesty. In such circumstances men are swept away by the current of events. Witness Sirdar Chutter Singh and Shere Singh in the Punjab rebellion; witness again the Belooch Chief who opposed the return of the Ameers to Sind on the ground that if they rebelled, he must join them and forfeit the lands he gladly held of us. The prolongation of an anarchy in Oudh during 1858–59 was not owing to popular rebellion.† It is not for me to presume to express an opinion on the military operations of that time. But had columns been available for movement after the capture of Lucknow, the information since obtained, though not then forthcoming, shows that order might have been restored much earlier. The inaction of the village zemindars whom we had favoured was not because they did not wish to have the settlement of their villages. It is to be explained by the want of combination amongst themselves, by the very good reason they had to consider our Government at an end, by their clannish sympathies with their chiefs and the sepoys, by the delay of our military movements, by the exposure of the lives of individuals who gave intelligence to us. After all, they were in rare instances actively hostile. As a nation, they were not opposed to us, and though I contend that agrarian measures may keep them neutral, I do not say that, in difficult circumstances, they will certainly enlist their aid. I submit, however, that the neutrality of the masses is the corner stone of our supremacy. It is for some reasons far more important to us than to a Native Government to place the agricultural population in comfortable circumstances. In a state of never-ending war and confusion there is not the steady increase of population which follows on the restoration and fixed maintenance of peace and order. The inferior soils come under cultivation; the yield is smaller in proportion to the labor; the rude plenty of less crowded times recedes; an uneasy sense is felt of an intenser struggle more scantily rewarded. This, I am told by observant Natives, is the spreading sentiment among the rural classes. The complaint is that there is no *burkut* under the British Government. It may be remembered that Colonel Sleeman mentions exactly the same grievance being adduced by the Jats of the Delhi territory.‡ The meaning is that the toil is greater, nature more niggardly, the battle of life harder. The agrarian mind attributes the change to the foreign rule, to the remittance of money to England, to the decay of Native manufactures, to anything in short which runs counter to its prejudices. But here we have in reality the eternal problem which meets all peaceful governments, native or foreign. We may place a population in a position to receive the fair reward of its labour. But we cannot alter physical laws, nor can these be violated with impunity. [Still the primary conditions of the growth of moral and reflective checks on the increase of population must be the possibility of saving the fear of falling lower.] With these there is always hope of amelioration. Yet adverse circumstances may intervene, and it is no doubt possible that, in spite of the most liberal provision, a population may multiply so as to remain ill-fed, ill-dressed, brutal, (*Sic orig.*)

* It must be remembered that the settlement of 1856 did not finally settle rights in land, and that it was open to Talookdars, excluded from settlement, to prove their titles if they could at the regular settlement. I make no excuse for the order depriving them of the customary *Nankar*, or subsistence allowance.

† In a Minute recently published, Sir W. Mansfield remarks that "the East India Railway Company in 1857–58 pushed on its railway notwithstanding the war, and actually obtained great masses of labour from districts still in open revolt." The truth is, the industrial orders had no quarrel with us. When Koer Sing in 1858 was turned out of Azimgurh, which he had possession of for about three weeks, I, as Magistrate, rode through the town and was vehemently scolded by an old woman for managing so badly as to allow the rebels to retain it so long. I was quite as ready to find fault with the townspeople for not having aided us more actively. But we all agreed that the rebels were the common enemy.

‡ *Vide* Rambles of an Indian Official.

and ignorant. Wherefore it is much more incumbent on us than on any Native rulers to diffuse popular instruction as widely as possible. It is in my judgment not merely an illiberal but a most imprudent act to restrict education to the superior circles of society. But here again I find that in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab at least, the same policy which has provided for the material wants of the existing population has also provided for their mental enlightenment. To do one without the other is not enough.

It should be well understood, therefore, what the establishment of a congeries of Native States means. It implies that the masses are to be dependent for the improvement of their condition in all respects on the accidental character of the ruler for the time being. It implies the cessation of a policy which, with whatever degree of success, aims from generation to generation at their improvement. It implies the erection of constant impediments to measures affecting large areas in India. It implies the withdrawal of great revenues from the funds, both State and borrowed, available for all public works affecting such areas. It implies, as a rule, the obstruction of canals, not the prevention of famines; the uninstructed supineness, not the intelligent contentment of the mass of the people; the paralysis, not the amelioration of the British Government. This is not to say that this immense country cannot at some distant time be advantageously governed by men native to this soil, but that there are not yet within it the conditions necessary to any sort of self-government. It is not to say that the population will never be fit to choose wisely their own rulers, but that circumstances have hitherto been and continue such as to render them incapable of forming a true national judgment. It is not to say that the British Government is without defects, but that it has a merit, one never certain or enduring in a Native dynasty, that of gradually training its subjects so that they may, in the fullness of time, become competent as a people to decide their own destinies and govern themselves.

One growing grievance does call for redress. Deposed Princes and their servants have claims only on our sympathies and indulgence, and we cannot expect, however liberally we may deal with them, to make them forget their former state, or to aid the revolution from which they have suffered. They will not, they cannot, take an efficient part in the new polity. But there are considerable classes, both Hindoo and Mahomedan, of hereditary distinction and noble aspirations who break with the recollections of the past, and throw in their lot with the reformed constitution of the Empire.

Many of them can bring convincing testimonials from their foreign superiors to prove their conduct and capacity as soldiers or civilians. Frequently, while still in early manhood, they have attained to the highest grades open to Natives. It appears to me highly impolitic, and, if only administratively, unwise not to allow of the promotion of such excellent servants of the State by a process of careful selection. It is unnecessary to enter into any details. But these are the firstfruits of a system which, identifying the Government with the true improvement of the whole people committed to its charge, educates the flower of the subject race in the science of administration as practically developed in the light of the accumulated knowledge of Europe, and it is our bounden duty, as well as our proper prudence, to provide escape for their growth to maturity. Thus blending with our work the minds we have moulded, fairly rewarding the efforts we have evoked, ever mindful of the tacit defensive alliance between ourselves and the masses, not faithlessly deserting or ignorantly depreciating the civilization which we wish gradually to transfuse, or panic-stricken by dangers over-passed, we may still confidently hope with due patience and perseverance to acquit ourselves of our stewardship to the future satisfaction of India, the glory of England, and the applause of history.

From Captain R. A. COLE, Superintendent of Coorg, to the UNDER SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department, Simla.
—(Dated Fraserpett, 18th July 1867.)

In reply to your confidential letter of the 1st instant, I have the honour to submit, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, the following particulars on the subject as to whether the system of our administration in India possessed, in the estimation of the Natives, any superiority over the method of government pursued in the independent States, as far as I can vouch for from personal knowledge.

2. I may premise my remarks by observing that my knowledge of the feelings, wishes, and ideas of the people only extends to the Provinces of Mysore and Coorg, in which alone I have had the honour of serving under the Civil administration of His Excellency.

3. As I have at present the honour of holding the charge of this province, I would beg to submit the particulars regarding Coorg first, and then pass on to a consideration of the feelings on the subject of the people of Mysore.

4. The former rajahs of Coorg, as His Excellency is aware, were Lingayet Brahmins, aliens and strangers, who had never obtained the confidence or affection of the Coorgs themselves. Some centuries back, before the Lingayet dynasty had been established, the province was in the hands of petty Polygars or chiefs of nàds or subdivisions in Coorg; but all trace of these Polygars was stamped out by the rajahs, and the present chiefs or headmen derive their influence and position from having risen to high posts as dewans, &c., under the rajahs. I might here state that my present Head Sheristadar commanded the Coorgs at the Buck Stockade, when we were repulsed during our advance on Coorg.

5. The lives, property, and women of the Coorgs were, however, never safe for a day, and the atrocities of the last Rajah of Coorg, notwithstanding the late pamphlet of Mr. Montgomery Martin, are well known to the Government.

My Head Sheristadar and other old officials have declared that they had been often flogged before the Rajah for little or no offence at all.

6. As regards the Coorgs, I have no hesitation in declaring that they are, without any exception, far more prosperous and happy under our rule than under their Native rulers.

I am led to this opinion, not from the sayings of subservient officials, but from an intimate knowledge of the feelings of the people themselves. I have always been in the habit of riding about the country away from officials, and without even a peon following me, on purpose to have unrestricted conversation with the people themselves, and I can vouch for the statements herein made.

This opinion is also borne out by the fact that the Princes of Coorg, now residing at Benares, lately deputed emissaries, *Coorgs* who had followed them to this province on purpose to obtain Coorg brides for them, but not a single family would consent to the honour of the alliance.

7. I may here state, with reference to this significant attempt to re-awaken an interest among the people of this province, that the few Coorgs who accompanied the late Rajah's family, had become connected by marriage with the several members.

8. Passing on to the people of Mysore, there is no doubt that Native States offer superior attractions to certain classes.

The causes for this are so clearly given in paragraph 2 of your letter under reply, that I need not allude to them; but I would beg to maintain that those classes bear an infinitesimal proportion to the great masses of the people, especially to the mercantile and agricultural communities. Ever since the agitation of "the Mysore question," I have carefully endeavoured to gauge the feelings of the people.

Traders, sowcars, and others have openly declared that, under our rule, they could amass money without any dread of spoliation, and that under Native rule, their lives even, much less their property, were not safe for a day.

9. I am convinced that, with the exception of the Brahmins and people about His Highness's Court at Mysore, and the lower classes under their immediate influence, the great mass of the people consider themselves far safer and happier under our rule.

From my own personal experience amongst the Ryots, I can safely declare that they have not forgotten the great oppression of the Native local rulers which led to the rebellion in Mysore and to our assumption of the Government, and that they thoroughly appreciate the justice and blessings of our rule, which has led to their becoming independent of even the local money-lender, and to being the most prosperous agricultural community perhaps in all India.

From Captain R. A. COLE, Superintendent of Coorg, to the UNDER-SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT of INDIA, Foreign Department, Simla.—(Dated Fraserpett, August 8, 1867.)

In continuation of my reply, under date the 18th ultimo, to your confidential letter of the 1st July 1867, I have the honour to submit, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, the following report of certain details which have since transpired.

2. In my previous letter I alluded to the attempts made by the Princes of Coorg, now at Benares, to obtain Coorg brides.

This attempt led to Biddundra Somia, a Kárikar or commandant of a regiment under the late Rajah, going to Benares a few months ago to ascertain whether any of the Princes were going to marry a daughter born to him during his exile with the Rajah, and who had been left behind with the family. I may here state that a sister of Somiah had become one of the wives of the late Rajah, and been admitted into the Lingáyet persuasion.

3. This Somiah and three other old Coorgs have lately returned, and Somiah has brought his daughter back with him, in consequence (I am privately informed) of the Princes not being willing to marry a girl who is suspected to have had intercourse with their late father.

4. Biddundra Somiah informed me that the Princes desired him to try and get the Coorgs to send in a petition, praying that the province might be restored to their dynasty! On my questioning him and the other Coorgs, the significant reply was that such a request would lead to the same result, as nourishing a serpent in their bosom! They also stated that they had declined to do so, and that the Princes had then asked them not to oppose their return to reside in Coorg, in event of their petitioning the Government to allow them.

5. With regard to my remarks that the great mass of the agricultural and mercantile communities are more prosperous and happy under our rule, I am convinced of the fact; but in the several villages and towns scattered through the Province of Mysore, are to be found the "clever and the bold, and the ambitious," as pointed out by you, who have acquired a certain local influence, and whom many of those communities might follow like a flock of sheep would their shepherd; but the people themselves individually are far happier and more prosperous under our rule.

6. I believe also that most of the official classes prefer our rule to the chances and caprices of Court favour, especially since they have been put on such a good footing as regards position and emoluments. Of course, among these are some "clever, bold, and ambitious" men, who might prefer the non-restrained exercise of power under a Native Court.

7. In conclusion, I would venture to hope that I may be excused for again addressing you on the subject, as I have done so merely with the view of affording His Excellency all the information in my power on such an important subject, as I should be loath to believe that our interference and predominance in India have not led to more contentment and prosperity among the respectable masses of the people.

From Lieut.-Col. HENRY HOPKINSON, Agent to the Govr.-Genl., N.E. Frontier, and Commr. of Assam, to the UNDER SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department, Simla.—(Dated Gowhatty, July 19th, 1867.)

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st July 1867, requesting me, with reference to Lord Cranborne's speech on the recent debate on the Mysore question, to furnish you with any statements showing the condition of the masses of the people respectively in British territory and under Native rulers, which it may be within the limits of my experience to supply.

2. I assume that my experience is to be understood to be limited to Assam.

3. There are no Native States adjoining Assam between the population of which and the population of Assam any useful comparison could be drawn in respect to the amount of prosperity and happiness which either enjoyed. It would be useless to make such a comparison between the Assamese and any of the hill tribes, as Booteas or Nagas, or Cossyahs, since the difference of the physical conditions under which they live must exercise a more potent influence over their social condition than their form of government.

4. But may the state of Assam under British administration and what it was under its Native rulers be compared? Well, it is not so easy to find reliable data for such a comparison.

5. When the British came to Assam it was to relieve the Assamese of the cruel and intolerable yoke of the Burmese, and no doubt the Assamese are far happier and more prosperous under our administration than they were with the Burmese for their rulers; but this proves nothing for or against Lord Cranborne's argument. On the other hand, there are no statistical records extant to show what the condition of the people was before they began to be distracted by the fierce, incessant feuds which ended in the Burmese being called in; but tradition ascribes to that period a numerous and happy population, and a character for plenty and prosperity, and there is indeed evidence to show that the people were in many ways more capable and intelligent in those days than they are now.

6. Referring to your opening paragraph, will you pardon me for observing that it seems to me that you rather force Lord Cranborne's meaning in saying that his Lordship took occasion to doubt whether the system of British administration in India possessed, in the estimation of the Natives, any superiority over the method of government pursued in the independent States. Lord Cranborne did not say *that*. If I may trust the abstract of his speech given in the *Overland Mail*, he remarked that "he was not of course for a moment *denying* that our mission in India was to produce order, to civilize, and to develope a system of Native government; but he certainly demurred to the *wholesale* condemnation of that Native system which, though it would be perfectly intolerable on our own soil, having grown up among the people subjected to it, had a fitness and geniality which we indeed could not realise, but which compensated in some degree for the material evils which its rudeness often induced." It seems to me that this way of putting the case is moderate and quite within the truth, and the remainder of the speech is all in the same key.

7. It would be presumptuous were I to pronounce upon the character of British administration in India generally; but I confess that "a heedlessness," not indeed listless and heavy, for it is active enough, perhaps too active, but doctrinary and wanting in discrimination and sympathy, "the fear of responsibility" (let me add, the intense jealousy of allowing responsibility), and "extreme centralisation," are faults which I would attribute, indeed, which in my notes on Major Lee's Memorandum that I lately submitted to the Bengal Government, and of which a copy has been doubtless furnished to the Government of India, I have attributed to the system according to which Assam is now ruled.

8. Let me also refer to the description given by the Famine Commissioners, at paragraph 409 of their Report, of the Bengal system of administration, that the executive reigns, but does not govern, and point out that while other provinces, less backward than Assam, less needing a strong executive, and less different from Bengal, are more actively governed, we in Assam get the Bengal system for no better reason than that we have been annexed to Bengal; in other words, the bureaucratic disregard of differences of circumstances, and the jealous centralisation which Lord Cranborne condemns, insist that we shall follow altogether in the Bengal groove.

9. Were I to infer the position of our Government in India from that in which it appears to me it stands in relation to Assam, I should apprehend a prospect before it of extraordinary difficulty. For in Assam I see a public expenditure, which would speedily bankrupt the province if it had to depend upon its own resources, lavished upon establishments, civil and military, beyond the necessities of Assam, and in its present social development tending, I think, rather to the disintegration than to the consolidation of authority.

10. There are surely some grounds for Lord Cranborne's remark that the Report on the Orissa Famine would furnish a terrible example of our elaborate and artificial English rule; nor do I wonder at his noticing the point which the system of extreme centralization has been allowed to reach. Its genius especially lies in that daring application of general principles without regard to local circumstances to which the Famine Commissioners have drawn attention, and of which the fiscal administration of India since the mutiny has furnished several instances. One may understand how various nationalities should be submitted to the operation of the same Penal Code; but I believe it is admitted that any scheme of taxation to be successful must be nicely adjusted to the nature of the resources, the state of civilisation, the habits and customs—nay, even the prejudices of the people who have to bear it, and yet

we see the self-same Income Tax (borrowed from England), Stamp Act, or License Tax, put in almost universal operation among nations in every diversity of condition and in every variety of surrounding circumstances under which mankind are found living.

11. In deciding between the respective merits of Native and British systems of administration, this much at least must be conceded, that the British administrations which have received most credit for efficiency are precisely those which have approached closest to the "rough and ready method of Native government;" while on the other hand the administration which at this moment is perhaps the least favourably regarded in India, is that which is the furthest removed from the Native type. This is a very strong argument in favour of Lord Cranborne's view.

12. On the other hand, if extreme centralization and the fear of responsibility have attained the dangerous proportions which Lord Cranborne imputes to them in the English system, it might be worth while to inquire to what extent the Indian Government are answerable for this state of affairs, and whether it has not been forced upon them by the relation in which they stand to the Secretary of State for India, and again in the relation in which that high officer stands to the Imperial Parliament. For everything done in India an account has to be given, or may have to be given, to the Imperial Parliament; and the more negative, therefore, the character of the Indian Government, the more perfectly they can substitute, for the irregular action which attends individual exertion and development, a system of machinery deriving all its motive power from themselves, and working with a quietness and smoothness the least calculated to attract attention, the more rare will be the calls for explanation, and the easier it will be to furnish it when called for.

13. Lastly, I would observe that if endeavours are ever made to develope the moral nature of the Natives after the fashion of the Anglo-Saxon race, it will be found that for the most part they originate either in England or with Englishmen out of the official pale in India.

From L. R. ASHBURNER, Esq., Magistrate of Kandeish, to the UNDER SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department. —(Dated July 21, 1867.)

ALTHOUGH the more intelligent class of Natives admit and appreciate the greater security of life and property and the more generally prosperous condition of the masses in British territory, I am inclined to believe that Lord Cranborne has correctly estimated the general tendency of public opinion on the relative merits of British and Native administrations.

2. The bulk of the people are so ignorant of everything that passes beyond their own immediate point of view, that they do not know what a Native State is. It is associated in their minds with a system of rough but swift justice to all, and a government conducted with a great deal of pomp and display. What may be called the oral literature of the people, the ballads, traditions, and dramatic representations of their Bhats and Bowayas, all tend to keep alive this idea. No one who has observed the unwearied patience and interest with which a village will listen to their recitations for a whole night, can fail to understand the powerful influence they must have on public opinion; and when to this is added the feeling of nationality and the common tendency to exaggerate the benefits of the past, it is easy to understand how inferior our system of interminable delays and preference of law to justice must appear compared to the popular ideal of a Native State.

3. On the frontier of an ill-governed Native State, where the people are brought in more immediate contact with oppression and misgovernment, our system may have its advocates; but even there, for every instance of insecurity of life and property, the Patels will quote equally distressing cases of respectable families impoverished and ruined by the action of our Civil Courts, or of notorious murderers let loose upon society owing to some legal quibble. Not understanding the stringency of our rules of evidence, they attribute these failures of justice, which are every day becoming more common, to the corruption of the Judges.

4. Notwithstanding the many faults of our system, the most prejudiced observer will admit that, though the upper classes—the aristocracy of the country—are impoverished, the great body of the people are better off than in any of the neighbouring Native States, and it might be argued that this fact *must* turn the scale of popular

opinion in our favour; but the fact is, as I have stated, the great bulk of the people know nothing of what is going on beyond the limits of their own village It would appear incredible that the people of Oudh, after their terrible experience of a Native government, should prefer it to the vigorous non-regulation rule they enjoyed after annexation; but it is well known that the population of Oudh not merely acquiesced in the rebellion, but became active partisans of their late Chiefs.

From Lieut.-Col. T. CLERK, Inam Commissioner, Mysore, to the UNDER SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department.– (Dated July 22, 1867).

In reply to your confidential communication of the 1st instant, I have the honour to submit the following observations.

The Government established by us in Mysore when we assumed charge of the country was peculiar; it was neither wholly British nor Native, but a combination of the two,—the old Native institutions were worked by Native agency under European supervision. The result of this experiment, fostered and guided by the wisdom of Sir Mark Cubbon, was a marked and rapid improvement in the condition of the country, which has increased under the sagacious rule of the gentleman on whose shoulders Sir Mark's mantle has so fortunately fallen, until Mysore at the present time exhibits a degree of prosperity that no person would have ventured to predict in 1831.

But with all this, I am bound to state that the people generally believe, however erroneous that belief may in my opinion be, that they would be happier under a Native ruler; and this feeling, as far as I have been able to judge, is of comparatively recent growth, and the main causes are briefly as follow.

The judicial system now being introduced into Mysore is too refined and complicated for the people,—rude, simple, and uneducated as they mostly are, and the niceties and technicalities of our Courts perplex and harass them. I am speaking of course of the bulk of the people in the districts. Bangalore itself, with its large mixed population, now that it is connected with Madras by rail, and barristers and pleaders can and do run up to conduct cases before the Courts, and also considering the superior wealth, intelligence, and education of its inhabitants, is probably ripe for the reception of the law as administered in Her Majesty's Courts. But the mass of the people sighs for a return to their old forms and institutions, which with some slight modifications were, and I believe still are, admirably adapted to their requirements.

The system of the Public Works Department, again, causes much discontent and grumbling amongst the people. They see grand old works around them constructed chiefly by Native rulers, and they do not of course stop to enquire by what means they were constructed. There they are, and they profit by them. On the other hand, they now see an expensive establishment scattered over the country, and little or nothing done by it, save the construction of jails and public buildings. Where, they ask, are the works performed for our benefit by the Department of Public Works? And the question, I must confess, is a difficult one to answer. Here, again, the people long for the "good old times," and the desire is not unnatural, though they forget the past misery of forced and unrequited labour.

The vexatious restrictions and interference of the Forest Department, too, are a fertile source of discontent. These and some other minor matters are, I think, the causes which lead the mass of the people to suppose that Native rule would be preferable to European. The educated and higher classes of course have other reasons for desiring a change.

That Mysore was in a most deplorable state when the British Government assumed government of the country, and that it has prospered in a remarkable degree under our supervision, nobody but a mad man would attempt to deny. But it must not be forgotten that all this prosperity was principally achieved by Sir Mark Cubbon with Native agency, assisted by a very few Europeans. The people then, I think, were generally contented, at least they did not evince discontent further than to give vent to the occasional expression of a wish (whether sincere or not I can't say) that the raj should be restored to a Native ruler. Since Sir Mark Cubbon's resignation, however, and the introduction of changes in the administration affecting the old established Native institutions, expressions of discontent have become more general. Formerly, a Native having a grievance went at once to the Superintendent;

if it was not redressed by him, he went to the Commissioner; but now the administration is divided and sub-divided into such a multitude of separate departments, that the Natives are fairly bewildered; and although I, as an Englishman, maintain the undoubted superiority of British to Native rule, I am not in the least surprised that the Mysoreans should desire to see a Native ruler on the throne, and Native institutions once more take the place of our more elaborate system of government.

Having lately been honoured with the appointment of Inam Commissioner in Mysore, I have no records at hand from which I could draw any statistical information; but I beg leave to refer you to a memorandum drawn up by Sir Mark Cubbon, and submitted to the Marquis of Dalhousie at the latter end of the year 1855, from which will be seen at a glance the enormous advantages that have accrued to the Mysore country from our administration. The reports of Mr. Bowring will show what has been accomplished since that date. It is, however, too true, as remarked in your letter under reply, that the contemplation of present inconvenience renders people oblivious of past misery, and this is notably the case in Mysore. But, as I have previously observed, there are some slight grounds, in my opinion, for the murmurings of the Mysoreans. Our strict sense of justice and honesty of purpose is never questioned by the people. But, at the same time, I believe that they look upon us as exacting and unsympathizing masters.

I am in doubt whether I have rightly apprehended the nature of the report required by His Excellency the Viceroy, and if I have made any mistake in this respect, I trust that I may be pardoned. I have been over 24 years in the Mysore Commission, and have served in every part of the country, and have not been altogether unobservant of the signs of the times.

From GORDON FORBES, Esq., Madras C.S., to the UNDER SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department.—(Dated July 31, 1867.)

YOUR circular asking for statistics calculated to show the substantial benefits enjoyed by the people under British rule, in contrast with their former condition, only reached me this morning, having been sent to Ganjam. I am only able to suggest a few of the sources from which a refutation of Lord Cranborne's remarks might be drawn. Among the pictures of a former state of administration which are to be found on the public records, it may be useful especially to look into Sir Mark Cubbon's report on Moturpha taxation *in Mysore*. See also Mr. C. P. Brown's translation of a Teloogoo book called "the Wars of the Rajahs."

It will no doubt have occurred to you to have selections made from articles on British rule in the Native Press, and our Codes will be instanced in evidence of the principles on which we have legislated. The number of titles in fee simple issued by the Inam Commissioner in this Presidency, the reduction of the assessment on the land, and the moderate incidence of the reduced rates, as compared with the proportion drawn by Native landholders from their tenantry, the consequent enhancement of land in the market, the increased and increasing area under cultivation, and the vast quantities of raw produce yearly exported, the bullion which flows into the country in return, all these are probably on your list already as evidence of the soundness of our land revenue administration. A return of the number of wheeled carriages which the construction of district roads has brought into existence during the last 20 years will speak for itself, and a progressive return of the number of candidates who have presented themselves at the test examinations will also be effective.

I will endeavour to procure for you the particulars regarding land tax, and area and wheeled carriages for the Madras Presidency; the rest are, I think, to be had in Calcutta.

I have omitted to name the exertions of the Supreme Government to put an end to human sacrifices and female infanticide in the Khond country.

From GORDON FORBES, Esq., Madras C.S., to the UNDER SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department.—(Dated October 3, 1867.)

I AM sorry to be obliged to send you so poor an instalment of the information I offered to procure for you. It will be quite fair, however, to apply the principle *ex uno*, &c., for the improvement has been general. I see that, in one of the late

Indian debates, Laing spoke in very decided and warm terms of the extraordinary progress since the mutiny, and the *Times* coolly accounts for it all by cotton.

I hope to send you other replies shortly.

MEMORANDUM showing the Increase in the Value of Land to Purchasers, the Incidence of Land Tax in Government Villages, as compared with those in Zemindaries, and the Increase in the Number of Wheeled-Carriages during the last 20 Years in the five under-mentioned Districts.

	Districts.	The Increase in the Value of Land to Purchasers during the last 20 Years.	The Incidence of Land Tax in Government Villages as compared with those in Zemindaries.	The Increase in the Number of Wheel-Carriages during last 20 Years.
1	Ganjam	The increase is 50 per cent.	The land-tax in Government villages takes about one-third of the gross produce at the present high rates for grain. The zemindars or their renters take one-half of the crop, except in sugarcane, tobacco, and cotton. For the first two they charge from Rs. 10 to 15 an acre, for cotton Rs. 5 an acre.	Twenty years ago there were 6,000 carts in the district; there are now 32,000.
2	Godavery	The lands in this district are of three descriptions, viz., Government Zerayati, Inam, and Zemindary or Proprietary. This district was, till very lately, under joint renting system. The shists of Zerayti individual holdings were not fixed by Government, only the lump sum on each village. The ryots were at liberty to assess their individual holdings at their pleasure. There has therefore been no practice of selling Zerayati lands till lately. During the last three or four years, i.e., after the Zerayati lands have been demarcated, surveyed, and permanently assessed by the Settlement Departments, such lands are readily sold. The best Government lands which are assessed at Rs. 3 or 4 an acre are sold at Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 an acre on the condition of the purchaser paying the annual assessment to Government. Lands of inferior quality assessed at Rs. 2 and under are sold at Rs. 10 to 25 an acre. From the year 1860 Inam lands having been enfranchised by the Inam Commissioner and title deeds issued, the best Inam lands which are classified by the Settlement Department as worth Rs. 3 or 4 an acre are now rented out at about Rs. 10 an acre. Such lands are sold at about Rs. 200 an acre, on the condition of paying to Government the quit-rent on it. Inams of inferior quality are likewise sold at about 20 times the annual rent value.	The land tax in Government villages is according to the new survey and settlement rates, which were introduced in 1866–67. The dry rates of assessment vary between 8 annas and Rs. 4 an acre with reference to the various qualities of soil. The lands of similar description and qualities in the adjacent zemindary villages are rented out for double or treble the above rates.	There are very few wheeled carriages. There has been a small increase owing to the facilities of local roads lately afforded by their being constructed from local funds.
3	South Arcot	The present value of land may be computed at three times what it was 20 years ago.	There are no zemindaries in this district.	The increase in wheeled-carriages may be estimated at ten-fold what it was 20 years ago.
4	Trichinopoly	The value of land has trebled in the last 20 years.	The ryots in the zemindary villages are paying from 25 per cent. more to double and even treble the reduced rates in the Government villages.	It is considered probable that the increase may amount to a third.
5	Coimbatore	The value of land is five times more now than it was 20 years ago; but in the case of orchard lands consisting of cocoa and areca nut topes, irrigated by river channels, and wet lands yielding two crops of paddy or superior products, such as sugarcane, betel, plantains, &c., the increased value is much greater.	The rates of assessment are much the same in the Government and Poliput villages so far as dry lands are concerned. In regard to gardens, these lands have been in Government villages charged with the first class Punjab assessment of the village and transferred to the head "dry," while in the Poliput villages the original garden rates still obtain. The rates of assessment on wet lands in Government villages are in many cases much higher than those in the Poliput villages. This is due to the fact that in the former the sources of irrigation are superior, and consequently valuable products are raised on the land, which is not the case in the latter.	The number of wheeled-carriages in 1846–47 was 603, and is now existing, it may be taken at about 4,500.

MEMORANDUM showing the Number of Candidates passed Special Tests during the last Four Years.

Nature of Tests.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.
I A. Judicial Civil, higher grade - -	74	101	98	57
I B. „ „ lower „ - -	10	71	128	36
II A. „ Criminal, higher grade - -	—	8	252	109
II B. „ „ lower „ - -	58	76	270	201
III A. Revenue General, higher „ - -	—	8	36	44
III B. „ „ lower „ - -	58	76	115	182
IV. „ Salt - - - -	—	9	13	7
V. „ Sea Customs - - -	—	6	11	3
VI. „ Account Test - - -	—	7	8	3
VII A. Translation, higher grade - - -	7	29	65	—
VII B. „ lower „ - - -	—	—	75	176
VIII A. Precis Writing, higher grade - -	—	—	18	119
VIII B. „ „ lower „ - -	—	—	7	143

From WILLIAM FORD, Esq., C.S.I., Commissioner and Superintendent, Mooltan Division, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, for Foreign Department.—(No. 195, dated 9th August 1867.)

Dated 1st July 1867

I HAVE the honour, in reply to the confidential circular which is marginally quoted, to forward a report on the subjects which have attracted the attention of Government in connection with the recent speech of Lord Cranborne on the affairs of Mysore.

MEMORANDUM drawn up by WILLIAM FORD, Esq., C.S.I., Commissioner and Superintendent, Mooltan Division, and Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor for the Affairs of Bhawulpore.

To decide upon the relative happiness and prosperity of the subjects of British territory in India and of the subjects of independent States, is a very difficult task; but it can be conclusively shown that a great deal of the happiness and the prosperity enjoyed by the subjects of independent States is traceable to British Imperial supremacy, without which the administration of many States could not be carried on.

2. The terms of treaty and of amicable relations between the British Government and Native States give many the moral support of our vast power both as against external foes and internal disorder. At many of the Courts of Native Princes of India, British European Officers are at present able and willing to give most valuable advice on pressing administrative questions, and when the subjects of a Native State are manifestly misgoverned, their conciliatory bearing is most valuable, thus checking oppression and wrong.

3. Again, it must be fully remembered that one of the main springs of the happiness of Hindoo families has been opened out as it were by the firmness and vigor of the British Government by its having suppressed, with a bold front, the custom of suttee*—a ceremony at which a wife or wives of Hindoos burnt themselves with their deceased husband, as well as female slave girls, and costly property was also wantonly destroyed;—this prohibition is now universal throughout India. Bernier touchingly describes a suttee which he saw at Lahore.†

* Abolished by Lord Bentinck.

† Bernier—Vol. II., page 18, Appendix No. 1.

4. Another point must be recollected in discussing the relative happiness of British and Native independent State subjects. The Natives of India are, as regards their religious opinions, divided into the main branches of Mahomedans and Hindoos. Now, in British territory, absolute neutrality and toleration on the part of the State is strictly enforced as a vital principle of Government. It is laid down that the religious belief of any one shall not prejudice him in any way; but in a Native State it is far otherwise; if the dominant power be Hindoo, Mahomedans are ground down and oppressed; no call to prayer is allowed. If Mahomedans form the ruling body, Hindoos are still more glaringly molested, so as to give a sense of social inferiority to the Hindoo community at large. Too often a cow, even when private property, an object of so much religious veneration when ill, is at once pounced on by Mahomedan butchers and killed for beef. Consequently, on the score of religion,

For persecution of Christians by Mogul Court, see Bernier, Vol. 1, page 198, Appendix No. 2.

Antiquity of customs for consideration of ox.—Cunningham, pages 335 and 336. Appendix No. 3.

a Hindoo is far happier in British than in independent territory if his ruler be a Mahomedan. And in British territory a Mahomedan is never restricted as to his call to prayer, which is not allowed in many Hindoo States.

5. But we must not for a moment lose sight of the close connection there is between the British Imperial power and its subordinate independent Native States. Before the events of 1857, many Native States affected an equality with our Government as administered by the Honourable the East India Company, for instance, Gwalior; this led to the campaign in which Lord Ellenborough took a part. But since the events of 1857, I understand the position of England to be Imperial throughout India. Conquest has swept away the last traces of Imperial Delhi and its Mogul dynasty, and the feeling of subordination is not now for a moment questioned, whatever it may have been prior to 1857. The solidity of our Government is most anxiously watched, and we exert a power and authority for good which is fully felt, although perhaps not openly acknowledged, in every hut through the length and breadth of the land, from the sea-shore washed by the ocean wave to the glacier surrounded with perpetual snow.

6. I acknowledge that much suffering may for years exist in a Native State; but I see that, with a strong Imperial Government to eventually refer to, a state of order and amelioration is finally inevitable.

7. But some are prepared to argue that the Mogul dynasty, which we, as an Imperial power, have supplanted, was better suited to the people of India than we are; and that, had it continued, the people would have been happier and more prosperous under it than under us. And some go so far as to assert that the Natives of India were, generally speaking, better off under the Mogul dynasty than under British rule, for the assertion of the superior happiness and prosperity of Native State subjects, as compared with British Native State subjects, is only a covert attack on our Imperial Power.

Revenue and limits of Mogul Empire in Aurungzebe's time.—Bernier, Vol. II. page 228. Appendix No. 4.

Composition of Army.—Bernier, Vol. I. page 233.

Omrahs.—Bernier, Vol. I, page 237. Appendix No. 5 & 6.

Now any one conversant with History knows that, when the battle of Delhi was fought by Lord Lake in 1804, the Mogul dynasty had signally collapsed; the Government had passed into the hands of a Mahratta Hindoo power. It was unable to support the burden with which it set out a claim to be Imperial, had struggled on, and eventually succumbed. Imperial Delhi was never at any time so Imperial in its sway over India as the British power is at the present moment. The Mogul undertook a charge and failed; we succeeded to it and have conquered. The Mogul rule was a foreign element; many of its followers were foreigners. They were quite as alien to India as rulers as Germans would be to Italy; their language even was foreign, so were their tastes and feelings.

Retinue of Mogul Court.—Bernier, Vol. II., page 86. Appendix No. 7.

8. We have only to refer to History to see what a hard task was undertaken by the Mogul dynasty, and how often it failed. It must be recollected that the Mogul dynasty had a strong Hindoo element to contend with, so much so that we see the Mogul dynasty eventually succumbed to a Hindoo Mahratta power. But prior to its collapse, it had many years of grandeur and splendour incident on the wealth and riches of so many distant provinces being drawn to, and spent at, Imperial spots, such as Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Lahore, Cashmere. But this drain of wealth produced great distress, and the condition of the people is thus described by one who had ample opportunities for observation.

Distress caused by remittances.—Forster, Vol. I., page 8. Appendix No. 8.

9. The conclusion which forces itself on us at every page of Indian History is that India was never so flourishing, her people never so well off and happy as they are at the present moment. Look at the state of our own country and Court in the reign of Charles II. Look at the state of England now; have we not progressed? So has India. Bernier, in marching from Delhi to Lahore, with the camp of the Emperor, says he hardly saw a town or village the whole way. The condition of the country to the south of Delhi is spoken of by Lord Metcalfe in one of his despatches as desolate and its people little given to agricultural pursuits. Sixty-three years have elapsed, and nothing is now to be seen but well-populated villages, and sheets of wheat cultivation spread over the face of the country for miles.

Desolation of country under Mogul rule.—Bernier, Vol. I., page 229. Appendix No. 9.

Desolate state of country between Delhi and Lahore.—Bernier, Vol. II., page 120. Appendix No. 10.

10. No one can have resided, as I have for years, in districts bordering on Native States, for instance, Goorgaon, Delhi, Rohtuck, Hissar, Kurnaul, Umballa, and

Mooltan, without being struck with the fact of how traders take up their residence in villages within British territory close on the confines of Native States with a view to secure safety to life and property, and yet at the same time be able to trade in foreign territory. When I joined the Umballa district as Assistant, the independent Sikh States, which joined on to that district on every side, were under their own criminal and civil administrations, but eventually they were made amenable to our criminal jurisdiction; and no one who can look back to a period of 20 years can for a moment doubt that the strong hand of the British rule has far increased the amount of happiness and prosperity amongst the people of that part of the country. Life, property, and the honour of women are far safer now than it was under a lawless state of Native rule. At that time one petty Native State was hardly able to ward off the encroachments of its neighbours; the criminal returns of the Cis-Sutlej States may be safely referred to for statistical data to support my assertion. I can remember affrays of the most bloody character which used to take place constantly. I can recollect going out shooting with Colonel Mackeson on the banks of the Jumna, not far from Jugadree, and seeing a Chief, many of the members of whose family had been murdered at a feast in the most treacherous manner. The statistics of the Cis-Sutlej States would give a good account of the increased safety to both life and property; for in those days the estates of the numerous Putteedars around Umballa had not been settled, and there was constant aggression and resistance on the one side and the other. A village of a Native State and one of the British territory on a boarder can too often be at once distinguished,—but few trees, cultivation scanty, the people poorly clad, the cattle thin, houses out of repair.

11. Many people of a turbulent plundering character prefer a residence in a foreign State; the law does not find them out and punish them as promptly as in British territory; if detection follows an offence, it is often punished by a Native official with merely a fine. We have to refer back to past History to see how much society at large is indebted to the British Government for the suppression of the Pindarees, who spread ruin and misery over so large a portion of India. We can have no real sympathy with those who are happier under a Native rule from the chance being less of a check being imposed on their evil propensities, from a Native Government being less able than ours is to punish. How troublesome the Shekhawattee plundering Chiefs have been for years past to the Jeypore State! When too bold, they have more than once visited British territory; frequently they have made inroads on the Hissar district.

12. I cannot understand any Native State of any extent being governed so that the agriculturists can be said to be happy without a settlement of the land revenue in some shape or other; but with it and a good Chief, and a territory not too large for individual supervision, I can imagine a Native society being fairly happy. A Native Chief's army is, however, generally in a state of chronic mutiny: there is a continual distrust, a balancing of party against party; but the collection of the revenue in kind leads to such endless corruption and exaction on the part of Native subordinates, met by corresponding fraud and tricks on the part of agriculturists, as to lead to demoralization of a class of men inclined to be honest and straightforward. I see an immense advantage on this point has been gained by the British subject. I believe a man's moral disposition benefits immensely by a land revenue settlement.

13. But a Native state has often to pass through severe trials before a settled Government is secured, and thus the happiness of its subjects is frequently imperilled. A disputed succession, a weak minority, are fruitful sources of disorder; but even in this difficulty, an ability to refer to and obtain the aid of the Imperial Government is a reason why Native State subjects are more secure than they would otherwise be. Order is restored much sooner than it would be were it generally understood that the British Government would not interfere. Otherwise, immediately a dispute broke out, these numerous bodies of men, always ready to take service, would flock to the standards of the rival parties, and thus prolong a quarrel which the arbitration or order of the British Government could, if asserting its authority as a paramount power, soon dispose of. Not, however, that Chiefs should be allowed to coerce and grind down their subjects through British influence. Where no settlement of the land revenue exists, and where Kham collections are carried on with oppressive rigor, many find it more profitable to seek for military service than to cultivate their fields, and thus a very dangerous element is forced on society; for Native States keep up, comparatively speaking, large armies, and their servants and retainers are numerous; there are endless idlers about a Native Court. Our tendency is to give

large pay and employ few people; the reverse is the policy of a Native Court; it, however, gives a Native Court considerable executive assistance in having its orders carried out. But the men who are thus forced on society generally revenge themselves on it; they form powerful military combinations, are anxious for change, and overthrow the State employing it. Many soldiers employed by our Government are often the residents of Foreign States. Our Sepoy army, for example, nearly overthrew our power. Runjeet Singh's power was destroyed after his death by the army he raised, and many more instances could be cited. Thus, as an Imperial power allowing disorder in a Native State, we foster too often an evil spirit against our own power. The Mogul Empire suffered sadly from a disputed succession. Native States are constantly subject to this evil; then they can call on our Imperial power. Our mechanical constitution of succession to posts and offices gets rid of the danger attending a disputed succession, and thus we can at all times come to the aid of Native States. But we barely escaped the ruin devised against us by a military combination, although imperfect in its organization. But our settlement and its decisions on questions of rights in and to land which were unknown to a Native rule, has engendered many bitter feelings against us as a nation, which we cannot ignore. The class which seems to stand out most boldly for the ruin or misgovernment of a Native State is the banker class, and it is wonderful what good faith they maintain throughout India. But many Native bankers having partners and corresponding houses in British territory, enable them by entreaty, threats, and protests, to support a very fair position even in the midst of the most misgoverned State. Even under the Mogul rule India never presented the consolidated appearance such as that of France of the present day; it rather resembled the Prussian Empire as now consolidated by Bismarck, and if things follow the course of progress, a few years will increase the resemblance by the gradual decay of the administrative powers of Native Princes, and the subjection of their armies to strict military law as well as to a reduction in numbers. This change will be the result of civilization, not possibly of any violent convulsion as forcible as that which has affected the States of Germany. But the Indian political horizon soon is clouded. Even under the Mogul rule, foreigners (Moguls) were liberally employed; they were not residents of India; they formed a body similar to ourselves, deficient in our sterling good qualities; they held most of the important offices of State; they came from and returned to Balkh and Samarcand, as suited their interest and inclinations—never became landed proprietors until intermarriages with the people of the country had destroyed their purity of blood, and lessened the esteem in which they were held. Even now many of the leading men of Native States have been or are British subjects. The Eimanabad family, which exercises such power at the Court of Jummoo in the persons of Jawala Sahai, the father, and Dewan Kirparam, the son, Jemadar Khosal Singh, Raja Deenanath, of Runjeet Sing's Court, were British subjects. Pundit Sheodial, of Delhi, was a few years ago held in great estimation at the Court of Jeypore. Fresh currents of thought, novel forms of government in force amongst us, thus find their way gradually as Imperial measures into Native States. For instance, the Penal Code and the Procedure Code, Act VIII. of 1859, are undoubtedly in the hands of many Native officials employed in Native Courts, and form their books of reference. Our system of land revenue, as embodied in our directions to Collectors, is doubtless in the hands of many subjects of Native States. No Native can read the Penal Code and not feel how much the British Government wishes to increase and secure the personal liberty of its subjects so as to raise their position socially. An immense change of idea is thus being gradually spread abroad without our knowing it.

14. Natives like to indulge in more ceremony, show, and pomp than we English care to do; the eye, fancy, and imagination are pleased. Most Native villages are so isolated and dreary that a few days spent about a Native Court must be a relaxation; still Native rulers generally live very secluded and are surrounded with a great deal of Court pomp and ceremony which shuts out the outer world from seeing much of them. There is too often the dread of the knife of the assassin and the poisoned cup. Native Courts are very like what that of Charles II. was, and the attendants having to rub the plates with a piece of bread and eat it to show the absence of poison, reminds one very sensibly of the insecurity of a crowned head. But on grand Mahomedan festivals there is doubtless a deep tone of religious sympathy which brings and binds a Native Chief and his subjects together. Doubtless, as a matter of pride, a Native feels great satisfaction in pointing out a ruler of a country as springing from the same blood as himself; many are debarred

from this pleasure; and I do not fancy that a Hindoo cares more for a Mahomedan ruler than he does for the British rule represented to his eyes by a British official residing at a fixed spot, with whom he considers his destiny to be bound up. To assert that a Native subject feels proud of his ruler is true in some instances, but possibly, after all, religion has more to do with the sentiment than we care to allow. Many Mahomedans object to British rule on religious grounds; the cry of Deen Deen attained a rapid growth in 1857.

We all know the inherent dread there is amongst Natives of making any show of wealth. In a Native State, a display of wealth is at once a signal for plunder; a white dress is a sign hung out by which the corrupt Native official at once resolves to plunder its owner. This does not speak much for the happiness of Native subjects, that they are always forced to feign poverty to escape utter ruin. It is only of late years that Natives have begun to understand our rule, and not to be afraid to spend their money without questioning and to let it be known that they (*Sic orig.*) are well-to-do in the world. [The licence tax has this objectionable tendency; a system of inquiry will expunge as to ways, means which make a man begin to doubt as to whether the British system is not approaching that in force in Native States.] Without any mental culture, thinking merely of the passing hour or of family marriages, past and in prospect, bowing the head with submission, however oppressed, until a certain point, many Native subjects pass their lives enjoying not much more than mere animal existence.

15. Whilst to an English cultivated mind the sway exercised by Rome in the Zenith of her power over her Asiatic possessions, Gaul, and Spain, excites no feelings of distaste, the spread of the influence of French conquests at and subsequent to the Revolution over the greater portion of Europe is opposed to the feelings of most of us, and from causes which we need not dwell on, the sway exercised by Austria over Italy was opposed to the feelings of most of us. We are immediately affected by the events of the day, which quickens our interest in passing events. Somehow or other the supremacy of England in India has not escaped the criticism of a certain party. But leaving the rights and wrongs out of the question in the present discussion as to our original acquisition of power in India, we may trace a new idea which has lately sprung up, an assertion that Natives are disposed to state that, compared with the system of administration in force in Native Independent States, our system of administration is inferior. Now for a Native's opinion to be worth much, he should possess a competent knowledge of the two systems, and then his opinion will be listened to with respect and command attention, provided the speaker be at the same time apt, observant, and intelligent; but few Natives—only those who have filled very high posts in a Native State and at the same time closely watched our English system—would be able to form a correct opinion. A Native without much experience as to administration will probably ground his partiality for a Native system of independent State Government on certain social defects or differences observable in the English character as compared with the Native. But this is not the point we have to deal with. We require a close comparison of results actually achieved by either system of government. When we come to compare the two systems, we are at once astonished how many branches of administration are excluded from the comparison, the Independent State having not even yet thought of them. As regards the main worth of the machinery for collecting the land revenue and enforcing order, our system is rather an improvement on a Native system than a direct deviation from it; for instance, a district with its Magistrate at its head, and a Commissioner to supervise three, four, or five districts, finds a very near parallel in the Native Nazim and his subordinate Kardars. The Village Accountant still exists with us, as with the Native Ruler the Canoongoe or expounder of titles and history of estates; every large town still has its Cazee, its Mooftee, and its Chowdrees or Municipal Committees. Villages still have their Head-men, their Village Watch-men, their Reporters, as they had hundreds of years ago. The Kardar, the Nazim in the person of European Officers, are more tied by law and defined rules than they used to be, the Supreme Government laying down from time to time that such and such principles of law, such and such maxims of political economy, are to be followed. For instance, when grain is dear in one place and cheap at another, it does not interfere with exports or imports; a Native State at once, when grain is being exported, prohibits its export, and directs that grain shall be sold at such and such fixed prices. The Native officials of a Native State are too often under no control, and are frequently chosen, not from capacity, but from Court influence.

The administration of a Native State seldom, even with a very good ruler, works well from the want of subordination amongst its officials to the ruling power.

A Railway, Educational, Legislative, Telegraphic, Medical, Marine, Public Works Department are unknown to Native States, and few Native States encourage the making of roads. As regards military arrangements, the Commandant of one corps will seldom obey the Commandant of another; he gets his orders direct, consequently military movements are always likely to miscarry. Added to this, troops are too often commanded by men on an expedition who have had no military training. Natives do not divide off these departments as we do; the consequence is a want of prompt action.

The Finances of Native States are generally in the greatest confusion; arrears so constant as to quite paralyze all establishments. Native States, as a general rule, do not know a regular system of payment. I copy out from Elphinstone for reference a sketch on Imperial Government.*

* *Vide* Appendix No. 14.

The difference between the administration of an Independent State and the Imperial British Government is so great that the two hardly admit of a close comparison. It is enough to say that the one is Imperial, commands the resources, ability, and energy of a whole nation, while an Independent Native State, even of the first order, dwindles into insignificance when a comparison is instituted. The three great points in which we excel are organization, civil and military discipline, and vigour in execution. Our orders are readily obeyed, and when the moment for prompt action arrives we, as a general rule, act with vigour.

We are bound together with a strong national tie, and can trust each other in the worst times. Native administrators are full of distrust; they bring an army together fairly enough, but when the moment for action arrives, hesitation and want of implicit attention to orders leads to defeat. It is a mistake to suppose that a number of capable men ever are collected together in a Native State. Mutual distrust is too great; family cliques thus spring up, and a general discouragement to merit.

An Englishman who has never left England can hardly realize English and Native official life in India, invariably despotic, but with but little public opinion to control. Here consists one of our chief weaknesses.

We are too much accustomed in England to regard the Continent of India as containing a race uniform in origin, language, and feelings; but the truth is, its people differ more than those spread over the Continent of Europe. A man from the southern portion of Madras is darker as compared with a man from our north-west frontier than an Italian as compared with one of pure fair Saxon complexion. The language of a man from the Madras Presidency would be unintelligible to a man of one of our north-west frontier tribes; and a man from Lahore, who might praise our Government for certain qualities, in travelling down through India, would doubtless be astonished with varied shades of opinion and thought, until he finally quitted India for Ceylon. The Native State which has suffered long from internal anarchy and misrule would at once appreciate the value of a strong rule to enable its orders to be carried out even harshly, provided the main body of the people was thus enabled to live in peace and quietness. But probably most educated men would apprehend that the presence of nearly 100,000 Englishmen of all classes in India, many of them holding the very highest appointments which the State has in its gift, must decrease the number of appointments which the people of Hindoostan can ever expect to hold; and many men capable of forming a fair judgment would naturally infer that such a large influx of foreigners must check the mental energy, vigour, and corporations of the people of Hindoostan. But our position has forced this drawback on us. We were willing to rule the country prior to the events of 1857 with cheaper materials;—a Native, not an European army as the Mogul dynasty supplied the place of a cognate Mogul army, by the place of persons of blood derived from India, and failed, so have we. Doubtless the materials with which we are forced to work and govern are more costly than those which a Native State could afford; but the evil is in a great measure attendant on our position in Hindoostan—an evil which is doubtless patent. We secure many solid advantages for Hindoostan, and hope to see her progress by concessions which we shall be from time to time enabled to make. We shall doubtless be able to admit Natives more freely to the Covenanted branches of the Service, and be able to confer commands of Native Regiments on Natives after the fashion of our Police Commandants, whose valuable services we obtained from the *debris* of the Sikh Empire. Still even, as matters now stand, a vast crowd of Natives is employed by us; many in very important posts; their pay

is liberal and certain, and thus many have during the past 50 years been able to raise their families from indigence to ease and comfort; our towns and villages are full of men of this sort, and it is very pleasant to see our subjects thus prosper even under the most unfavourable terms of our Government.

Native States give small pay; it is uncertain; tenure of office is doubtful; but plunder, which can be amassed in a few years, is a thing much coveted. Still many miss hereditary service without any great or marked qualifications. A Native State has a good deal to offer in this respect that is tempting. In a Native State a son often succeeds a father as a matter of course; he takes up the very same office. A General has his son as a General to succeed him; with us a General's son must be an Ensign, and so creep gradually up the ladder. There is doubtless something very taking about the Native style of reward for family service.

With us the post of ambition is reached late in life. Old age soon stops the career of the aspirant who has arrived at the last step of the ladder, and the son of the man who has thus faithfully served his country is too often left a beggar in the world. As long as the bark of State moves on smoothly through calm water, our administration seems to progress fairly enough; but when disorder breaks out for a time, we appear to feel the isolation of our position. Natives stand aloof; they are doubtful which will be the winning side; and a Native has at all times a good deal of treachery and cunning in his disposition. We seem in peaceful times to mix up the Natives of the country too little with us in the general administration of the country; there is a want of sympathy between the governing and the governed body; this is doubtless a source of very great weakness to us, particularly so in times of danger. It is true that strong English valour tells so much with us, and tells why in its absence a country breaks up, Natives having so little reliance on each other; still each village and town will even in the worst times make admirable arrangements for protection, but rather as separate bodies than bodies acting in unison to aid the general power of the administration. It is too often rather trying to tide over a political danger and then fall in with the party which wins; still the mere keeping a country or town quiet is a social advantage gained.

16. In a Native State each case is taken up and decided on its own merits. With us, from our mixed Government of English and Native, men who have arrived at a certain stage of civilization and men who have not, we have to give out general principles, and thus the orders of our Courts to Natives often appear too harsh and crude. Our Police has enormous power, and offences under the Penal Code are too often sought for and punished, which would be thought nothing of in a Native State. We are considered too strait-laced, and constitutionally harsh in our punishments.

We have an excellent skeleton of an administration without its being filled up with those active sympathies of the people at large, and thus invigorated. "The Government orders I obey" is the tacit acquiescence. It resembles an English family from which the father is forced to live absent. A thousand sympathies are exercised and felt by the father who lives in the midst of his family, of which the absent head knows and feels nothing. To test the condition of a Native Independent State, the class of petitions brought before a Chief, an Agent of the British Government, will give a fair index as to what is really going on. I can recollect a complaint which was often made by subjects of Native States when I was posted at Umballa, which was that a Native official, or person with whom the petitioner had a quarrel and was powerful, had carried off and was keeping possession of everything he had in the world—wife, children, cattle, produce of fields, &c., &c. This at once speaks of a lawless state of things. The Independent States which I have seen have been wanting as regards a system of Education. They have no schools for teaching Anatomy or the practice of Medicine; no schools for teaching the rudiments of Civil Engineering.

17. The objection raised amongst Natives to the British rule is too often a deep objection; for instance, by traders that such and such towns are not what they formerly were, for instance Lahore; that Runjeet Singh and his Court retainers, Native Chiefs, and large army, spent large sums at Lahore, which are now but poorly compensated for by the expenditure disbursed under the British Government. Then there is the cry that such and such a branch of trade has been especially injured,—just as the Coventry people called out some time ago regarding the sale of their ribands—for instance, that the Native silk trade has been injured; again, the trade in shawls, turbans, saddle-cloths, loongee chudders, and so on. The jeweller calls out that there is not the same demand for expensive Native jewels. The tent-makers

sigh in vain for the days when Runjeet Singh, and his Court had such handsome pushminah tents made for their use. Elephants are not in the demand they used to be, and so on. There are no expensive horse, camel, elephant, bullock trappings, called for, and thus numbers of people refer to the past as the good old time. In England the same thing has taken place, though not exactly in our day. Gentlemen of fortune are content to dispense with all useless show either in their dress or way of living. The expensive suits of clothes, on the possession of which Pepys love to dwell on, are no longer called for. It would now be thought extravagant for a Prince to owe above 5,000*l.* to his haberdasher. The account of the coronation procession of Charles II. gives a very fair idea of the glittering assemblies which used to pass up and down the streets of Lahore during the reign of Runjeet Singh. But the element of a mutinous, overbearing, headstrong Native army destroyed its own government, and it passed into the hands of the British Government, under whose rule, after a lapse of nearly 20 years, it cannot be said that the Punjab has retrograded. Wealth is more equally diffused, and the country is more prosperous than it ever was in the time of Runjeet Singh, and he was a very good specimen of a Native ruler; but the vigour and the constitution of the government could not provide an equally able successor, and thus, as is too often the case with Native governments, the country was convulsed, passed through a stiff ordeal, and now owes allegiance to the British Government.

18. An Englishman who has never travelled out of England can hardly realize the immense extent of our Indian empire, the changes of climate which are found to exist, and the various kingdoms into which India is divided off, each with some marked peculiarity of each language, soil, and religion. On the eastern, western, and northern boundary of India we have the stupendous ranges of the Himalayan Mountains encircling us as it were with a diadem of perpetual snow, from which vast torrents flow and intersect our plain country, to water and fertilize it, form roads for our merchandise, and then join the water of the ocean, which, as the Indian Peninsular juts out into it, is washed on two sides by it. Thus our southern territories are cooled by sea breezes, and watered by those storms which burst forth with such fury during the monsoon or periodical rainy season. Thus we find great extremes of heat and cold spread over a country which is generally speaking flat, but relieved as it were occasionally by fine mountain ranges, of which Madras can boast of the Neilgherries, Bombay of the Mahableshwar Hills. Thus, under British rule, the limits of great kingdoms have been marked off more or less under Imperial sway, and all feel the presence of its ruling power. A Viceroy presides with Imperial dignity over the whole of India; subordinate to him are:

Governor - - -	Madras.
Governor - - -	Bombay.
Lieutenant-Governor -	Bengal.
Ditto - - -	North-Western Provinces (Agra).
Ditto - - -	Punjab and its Dependencies.
Chief Commissioner -	Oudh.
Ditto - - -	Central Provinces.
Ditto - - -	Burmah.
Ditto - - -	Scinde.
Commissioner - - -	Mysore.
Resident of - - -	Hyderabad.
Agent to Governor-General for	Rajpootana.
Agent at - - - -	Indore, with subordinate European Officials posted at Native Court.
Resident of - - -	Nepaul.

Thus a magnificent control is exercised over which the eye can hardly wander and group the vast territorial power of British supremacy.

Each European officer has his staff of officers, European and Native, laid down according to a sanctioned schedule. Each Government is divided off into so many Commissionerships, which are again divided into districts; they into sub-divisions presided over by Native officials.

To each Governorship, Lieutenant Governorship, Chief Commissionership, or Agency, numerous Chiefs are attached more or less independent according to their political importance, still all owing fealty to the Crown of England. When I mention that the Maharajah of Jummoo alone has an army of 30,000 men, Gwalior probably not a less number, the Nizam of Hyderabad a still larger number, it will be seen that, besides the army maintained by England for Imperial purposes, a vast body of troops in the pay of Native Chiefs is spread over the vast Peninsula of India, soon agitated with the vibrations of any political storm, at all times seething with sedition

and violence. Many of the men employed by these Princes or Chiefs have been subjected either to a French or English system of drill, and many are closely allied in race and sympathy with the army which brought on the crisis of 1857. Thus it will be at once felt how important to our strength unity is, not only of purpose but of feeling. A very dangerous viper is concealed under the comparison between the British and Native system as now propounded.

England has felt it when it has been discussed whether Scotland and Ireland would have fared better with their own system of government. Italy has been keenly sensitive to the same question, and it has vibrated through her whole frame. The States of America have heard the question asked, and the reply has been given and sealed with torrents of blood and Republican unity. These questions, as unsettling the minds of many in India, may still lay many a gallant head low; but we have a great duty imposed on us to progress and do all whilst we are permitted to hold Imperial sway for the general benefit of the 200 millions entrusted to us—a charge so great as to make us shrink even with the vast resources at our command.

The Mogul dynasty in the height of its power was a magnificent sway; and we must not forget that, during the events of 1857, the hearts of many were with its restoration.

19. But possibly the best plan will be for me to draw up a brief sketch of the component parts of a charge under British control and one under Native control; the person unconnected with the service of Government will then doubtless be able to form some kind of opinion of his own as to the efficacy of a British or Native system of administration, and not be biassed, without substantial proofs, by vague statements of interested Natives not in a position to give either a sound opinion or a correct statement of the relative merits and demerits of a State governed exclusively by Natives, or by a mixture of Europeans and Natives. But it could have been hoped that the inquiry had been conducted on fixed data, considered as measures of effective or non-effective management with reference to Algeria and India, where we find a mixed government; and to Persia and Turkey, where we find the governing European element absent. The data naturally suggesting themselves would be—

Wealth of Shahjehan.—Elphinstone, Vol. II, page 399. Appendix No. 11.

Increase or decrease of population;
Increase or decrease of revenue;

Revenue of Aurungzebe.—Bernier, Vol. II, page 228. Appendix No. 4.

Taxation per head during any stated periods fixed on;
State of crime for any two stated periods;

Taxation.—Cunningham, page 365. Appendix No. 12.

Emigration or otherwise of inhabitants; and so on.

English and Native character contrasted.—Jeffrey, pages 350–51 and 343. Appendix No. 13.

Where we find a mixed government, doubtless the carrying on the administration of the country in two or more languages will be more expensive; and in the case of India so many correspondences are now forwarded to the Secretary of State for India. Foreigners serving a State as we English do in India, both Civil and Military, also impose an extra charge on the State compared to what would be incurred were selections made for all the services in India. Medicines, ammunition, stores of all kinds, are thus rendered often-times more costly. The sketch which I propose to draw is between the Government of the Punjab and that of the Native State of Bhawulpoor, which bounds the western portion of this division. On the eastern boundary of the Punjab, the distracted state of Affghanistan proves how difficult it is to secure a quiet succession after the death of a Chief, and how the fruits of peace, collected during a strong rule, are so soon dissipated amongst contending aspirants for a throne. The fact of a Mahomedan ruler being a polygamist raises up a host of sons, who, as soon as their father is dead, endeavour to raise themselves to supreme power. This constantly leads to extreme jealousy on the part of a Chief during his lifetime which extends itself to the Ministers of State, since it is feared one Minister may favour the pretentions of one son more than another, and thus the energy and zeal of many servants of State, willing to serve it faithfully, is checked.

20. A Lieutenant-Governor presides over the Punjab—a territory of our Indian Empire containing about 14 millions of people of a hardy, bold, industrious, warlike character. The climate for eight months of the year is temperate; for four, hot and trying to the European constitution; seven rivers which rise in the Himalayan Mountains flow through the Punjab, and by overflowing their banks when the hot weather sets in about March or April, fertilize large tracts of country, where fine wheat is produced. The Lieutenant-Governor is aided in his charge by a Staff consisting of

Europeans and Natives; by an army made up of Europeans and Natives; by a strong Police officered by European gentlemen; by a large Revenue establishment; by a Postal, Medical, and Educational Department; as well as by a Public Works Department; by a Forest Department; by Officers specially trained for the Judicial Department. The Government stands thus—

Sketch of Mogul Administration.—Elphinstone, Vol II., page 299.

Punjab Revenue.—Burnes, Vol. II., page 288.

Character of Government under Runjeet Singh.—Burnes, Vol. II., page 295, Appendix No. 14-16.

Lieutenant Governor.
Private Secretary.
Secretary to Government, Punjab.
Assistant Secretary to Government, Punjab.
Meer Moonshee..
Military Secretary.
Secretary to Government, Public Works Department.
Secretary to Government, Railway Department.
Director General of Public Instruction.
Director General of Post Offices.
Inspector General of Jails.
Inspector General of Police.
Conservator of Forests.
Chief Court, presided over by two Judges, one an English Barrister.
Registrar.
Financial Commissioner.
Secretary.
Commissioners of Divisions.
Deputy Commissioners.
Assistant Commissioners.
Extra Assistant Commissioners.
Sub-Collectors or Tehseeldars.

It will be understood how the Secretary in the Public Works Department, the Postmaster General, the Director of Public Instruction, has his subordinate departments spread over the country, over which, from a centre, he exercises a special or general control. Each Deputy Commissioner has his Staff under him; he will be immediately aided by a Covenanted European Assistant, and probably by a Native Assistant, and one Uncovenanted Assistant. Each district will be divided off into four Collectorships or Tehseeldarships. Each district will collect about 10 or 14 lakhs of revenue; contains on an average 1,000 villages, 473,942 inhabitants; have 400 or 500 Police attached to it, 800 or 1,000 village watchmen, and 100 Revenue Chuprassees or Messengers.

The Troops, European and Native, are located at fixed strategical posts.

The Courts of Justice will commence with the Chief Court, which, as a general rule, except for the trial of Europeans, may be regarded as an Appellate Court.

Court of Commissioner of a Division.—Court of Appeal, Civil, Criminal, and Revenue. As regards criminal cases of a certain nature, a Court of Assize.

Court of Deputy Commissioner.—Court of Appeal, Civil Criminal Revenue; Original jurisdiction, Civil, Criminal, Revenue.

Courts of Assistants, Courts of Tehseeldars.—Original, Civil, Criminal, Revenue jurisdiction. Appeals from these Officers are heard, according to the class of powers entrusted to them, either by a Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner.

But it must be observed that a vast amount of the work on which the prosperity of the country and happiness of the people depend is performed by Native Extra Assistants, Tehseeldars, Naib Tehseeldars. For the Punjab, the Penal Code is the guide in criminal matters, aided by the Code of Criminal Procedure; and for the Civil Courts, we have a Code of Civil Law.—*Code of Civil Procedure, Act VIII. of* 1859.

The Revenue work is regulated by circulars and orders issued from time to time by the Financial Commissioner and Commissioners of Divisions.

Thus, a close supervision of districts is very essential, for the Police may oppress the people by taking up cases with which they have no right to meddle. Each district has two European Officers attached to it. Again, the Revenue Department may endeavour to extort money; but our settlement at once bars corruption of this sort to a great extent, since each village very well knows what it has to pay. No one is selected for the post of Tehseeldar without being a tried man, and I can safely assert that we have in our Tehseeldars a most able, valuable body of men, who do an immense amount of work, and do it very well. Therefore, as long as the Civil administration is in working order, nothing can go far wrong without being detected and corrected. The climate induces indolence, therefore constant supervision is absolutely necessary. It will be seen how the supervising department clusters round the Lieutenant Governor. There is a free intercourse between the

people and all controlling officers, so much so that all can get a hearing who are disposed to; but the mass of the people finds no necessity for leaving home, and as a District Officer or a Commissioner of a division generally visits his jurisdiction once a year, if not oftener, those who have complaints of a local character can bring them forward. Rights are every day being more and more valuable and intricate; this precludes our conducting *vivâ voce* inquiries and giving summary decisions. As few Natives can read and write, taking the masses into account, our falling too much into a paper system is an evil, but difficult to obviate. A Native Court carries on a good deal of work by verbal orders and summary inquiries drawn up in the shape of memoranda, giving the abstract of evidence given or facts elicited; but we prefer taking the evidence, whatever it may be, and making it form part of the record. It will be seen that those about a Lieutenant Governor all have specific duties assigned to them. A Native Court encourages a number of hangers-on, some of whom receive allowances without any specific duties being made over to them; they are available when called for.

For military purposes the Punjab is divided into three divisional circles under the control of the Commander-in-Chief, and one subdivision under the immediate orders of the Lieutenant Governor; the reason for this separate jurisdiction being the command of the Punjab frontier force, a body of men not placed under the care of the Commander-in-Chief. To all intents and purposes, the Government of the Punjab is a pure despotism; the people, as a body, have no voice in their government, and this is the character of Governments generally throughout India. A few matters are passed on beyond the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant Governor; for instance, the general result of accounts passes on, and is controlled by an office from Calcutta.

The Legislative Council works with the Viceroy, and the Postal department, as well as the Department of Public Works, is controlled to a considerable extent beyond the limits of the Punjab. With a pure despotism, such as we have to deal with, it is evident that the possible abuse of patronage, European and Native, is a danger against which we have most seriously to guard; for when once an incentive to zeal on the score of merit is removed, our machinery of Government is likely to work but languidly. As long as times are peaceable and no political or religious question agitates the Native mind, the Government progresses very favourably; the balance of Native good-will and support being generally very much in our favour. But as soon as disturbances break out and troops are removed from one part of the country, the machinery of State at once becomes clogged. This was felt so weightily throughout India during the events of 1857. The Punjab escaped general tumult from a feeling prevalent with two large sections of the community. The Sikhs had seen us always victorious, and had but recently felt the weight of our military power. The Mahomedans of the frontier cared not to assist the Court of Delhi, which they saw was virtually upheld by a Hindoo Sepoy army; having so recently escaped from the dominion of a Hindoo power, they did not care to again place themselves within its power. The country, as to town and village communities, is very cleverly organized,—the result of many causes, but isolated from the effects wrought by our Government. We derive great facility in having our orders as a Government carried out in times of peace, and if in times of tumult a country or tract of country is with us, we derive immediate strength; for our great want is generally men and supplies, as also carriage. A Native State seems to be often very strong and compact just at the moment our Government seems weak and perplexed; the reason I take it to be, a Native Chief chooses his side and his subjects follow him. But during 1857 many Chiefs were perplexed with the mutinous contingents which had been formed and attached to those Courts by British authority. Our Government has a great tendency to weaken European characters, to make them feel official responsibility too sharply, and pay for petty official errors too dearly. Thus when difficulties take place there is a chance of a want of vigour or energy, and the country over which a Government official presides sinks from sheer inaction into disorder.

Our great danger generally throughout India is Military disorder urged on by an active or passive Native population. The machinery of Government, which works independent of the heads of provinces, is now somewhat cumbrous, and thus the energy of the head of a province is cramped by a too Imperial supervision.

21. The territory of Bhawulpore affords a very fair example of the constitution of a Native State, the vicissitudes to which it may be exposed, and misery inflicted on a large extent of country in close proximity to British possessions. It forms our

eastern boundary for about 300 miles. Maharajah Runjeet Singh's designs on Bhawulpore caused our intervention through our representative Sir Claude Wade, and Bhawulpore has ever since been closely associated with the British Government. During the Cabul war, and the campaign against Moolraj at Mooltan, Bhawul Khan was firmly united with the British Government and proved himself to be its very faithful ally. But on his death the succession was disputed, and since then, until the British Government interfered in July 1866, and assumed the management of the country at the earnest solicitation of the Court and Ministers, the administration had passed from one bad stage to another, so that in July 1866 the Government could no longer be carried on, so corrupt and disorganised was it. For past years there had been constant outbreaks, which were suppressed by the army with great loss to the people and demoralisation of the parts of the country where they took place. During the time of Bhawul Khan the country was well held together; he seems to have taken great interest in the Government, which, however, before his death, is stated to have suffered from his irritable temper—the result of disease. This State keeps up an army of about 5,000 men; the Infantry are principally men from the Bhawulpore country, excepting a body of about 300 Rohillas recruited from about Bonair. The Cavalry contains in its ranks some few Pathans. State affairs appear to have been conducted to a great extent verbally, thus getting rid of a great deal of the writing in use amongst British Officials. The Mahomedan Law is the standard to which all references connected with it are referred, and the Hindoo portion of Bhawul Khan's subjects thus come off but badly. That a Mahomedan should be forced to pay a debt to a Hindoo was considered an insult; but in most Native States the rules against debtors are much more lenient and uncertain than with us. Bhawul Khan and his successors appear to have been very voluptuous and dissipated. At the same time, shooting, in which the Khans of Bhawulpore indulged freely, involved a good deal of personal fatigue. It was customary for the Nawab or Khan to seize any woman whom he thought fit, married or unmarried, and one family was mentioned to me at Bhawulpore in which remonstrance on the part of the husband caused his death. But very soon after the British Government assumed charge of Bhawulpore, I heard a Native say to another—"You know force as regards women will not now be tolerated." To an inert Nawab a clever Minister was an essential; but qualifications too often ended in jealousy on the part of the Khan, and the death of the Minister. Thus distrust was engendered, and the Nawab was in constant dread of assassination; officials in fear of sudden disgrace and ruin. Thus gradually the administration tottered. Appointments of all sorts were freely bought and sold year by year. The Treasury was supplied annually by a certain sum of money, and the people, their collections being in kind, were plundered in all directions. In many parts lands were entirely deserted, and, what is unusual with a Native State, the bankers and traders had left Bhawulpore in large numbers; and I saw in June last several streets entirely deserted. At that time the army was in a mutinous condition, and had not been paid for four months. If an order was given by one Minister it was at once countermanded by some one else. The Kardars were under no control, and were almost independent of the Government, doing just as their fancy prompted them. But with a strong rule the Government of this territory has revived wonderfully during the space of one year; the good points of a Native Government have been made use of, and orders when given are now carried out very promptly. Since this country came under British management in 1866, numbers have returned home. I myself saw parties of forty or fifty passing my house in September and October 1866. At the present moment, our Government carries a great deal of weight with it; its intention being known is enough to secure compliance with its orders. This has been fully proved in the Bhawulpore State. I saw many Natives during the very worst days of 1857, and the general opinion expressed was a sense of the justness of our rule and of the ease and comfort under which people lived, and a wish was often expressed to me that the British Government might be again firmly re-established, and that things might go on as they had done prior to May 1857, in peace and quietness.

As a full report will be submitted by the Superintendent in charge of Bhawulpore, I have not thought fit to enter as fully into details regarding the government of this State as I would otherwise have done.

Whatever the difficulties of our position as a reigning power are and may be, there is no doubt that we carry with us the good-will of thousands. Many, doubtless, are loyal from interested motives; but to continue strong we must be

Imperial and always prepared to enforce our orders, and not to permit any Native State for a moment to affect equality with us; for an assumption of equality is but preparatory to throwing down the gauntlet and contending for supremacy.

APPENDIX No. 1.

REGARDING SUTTEE.—Bernier, Volume II., page 18.

At Lahore I saw a most beautiful young widow sacrificed, who could not, I think, have been more than 12 years of age. The poor little creature appeared more dead than alive when she approached the dreadful pit; the agony of her mind cannot be described; she trembled and wept bitterly; but three or four of the Brahmins, assisted by an old woman who held her under the arm, forced the unwilling victim toward the fatal spot, seated her on the wood, tied her hands and feet lest she should run away, and in that situation the innocent creature was burnt alive. I found it difficult to repress my feelings, and to prevent their bursting forth into clamorous and unavailing rage; but restrained by prudential considerations, I contented myself with silently lamenting the abominable superstition of those people, and applied to it the language of the poet when speaking of Iphigenia, whom her father Agamemnon had offered in sacrifice to Diana.

APPENDIX No. 2.

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS BY MOGUL COURT.—Bernier, Volume I., page 198.

The misery of these people is unparalleled in the history of modern times; it nearly resembled the grievous captivity of Babylon; for even the children, priests, and monks shared the universal doom. The handsome women, as well married as single, became inmates of the seraglio; those of a more advanced age or of inferior beauty were distributed among the Omrahs; little children underwent the rite of circumcision and were made pages, and the men of adult age, allured for the most part by fair promises, or terrified by the daily threat of throwing them under the elephant's feet, renounced the Christian faith. Some of the monks, however, remained faithful to their creed, and were conveyed to Goa and other Portuguese settlements by the kind exertions of the Jesuits and missionaries at Agra, who, notwithstanding all this calamity, continued in their dwelling, and were enabled to accomplish their benevolent purpose by the powerful aid of money and the warm intercession of their friends.

APPENDIX No. 3.

ANTIQUITY OF CUSTOMS FOR CONSIDERATION OF OX.—Cunningham, pages 335–336.

It is curious that the Greeks and Romans believed the life of the ox to have been held sacred during the Golden Age; and Cicero quotes Aratus to show that it was only during the Iron Age the flesh of cattle began to be eaten.—(On the Nature of the Gods.—Franklin's Translation, page 154.)

APPENDIX No. 4.

REVENUE AND LIMITS OF MOGUL EMPIRE IN AURUNGZEBE'S TIME.—Bernier, Volume II., page 228.

Under Aurungzebe's reign the Empire attained its full measure of extent. His authority reached from the 10th to the 25th degree of latitude, and nearly as much in longitude, and his revenue exceeded thirty-two millions of pounds sterling in a country where the products of the earth are about four times as cheap as in England.

APPENDIX No. 5.

COMPOSITION OF ARMY IN MOGUL SERVICE.—Bernier, Volume I., page 233.

It is material to remark that the Great Mogul is a Mahomedan of the same sect as the Sounnys, who, believing with the Turks that Osman was the true successor of Mahomed, are distinguished by the name of Osmanlees. The majority of his courtiers, however, being Persians, are of the party known by the appellation of Schias, believers in the real succession of Ali. Moreover, the Great Mogul is a foreigner in Hindoostan, a descendant of Tamerlane, Chief of those Moguls from Tartary who, in the year 1401, overran and conquered India. Consequently he finds himself in a hostile country or nearly so—a country containing hundreds of Pagans to one Mogul, or even to one Mahomedan. To maintain himself in such a country in the midst of domestic and powerful enemies, and to be always prepared against any hostile movement on the side of Persia or Usbec, he is under the necessity of keeping up numerous armies even in time of peace. These armies are composed either of natives, such as Rajputs and Patans, or of genuine Moguls, and people, who, though less esteemed, are called Moguls, because white men, foreigners, and

Mahomedans. The Court itself does not now consist, as originally, of real Moguls; but is a medley of Usbecs, Persians, Arabs, and Turks, or descendants from all these people known, as I said before, by the general appellation of Moguls. It should be added, however, that children of the third or fourth generation, who have the brown complexion and the languid manner of the native Indians, are held in much less respect than new comers, and are seldom invested with official situations. They consider themselves happy if permitted to serve as private soldiers in the Infantry or Cavalry.

APPENDIX No. 6.

OMRAHS.—Bernier, Volume I., page 237.

It must not be imagined that the Omrahs or lords of the Mogul's Court are members of ancient families, as our nobility in France. The King being proprietor of all the lands in the Empire, there can exist neither Dukedoms nor Marquisates, nor can any family be found possessed of wealth arising from a domain and living upon its own patrimony. The courtiers are often not even descendants of Omrahs, because the King being heir of all their possessions, no family can long maintain its distinction, but, after the Omrah's death, is soon extinguished, and the sons, or at least the grandsons reduced generally to a state bordering on mendicity, and compelled to enlist as common men in the Cavalry of some Omrah. The King, however, usually bestows a small pension on the widow and often on the family; and if the Omrah's life be sufficiently prolonged, he may obtain the advancement of his children by royal favour, particularly if their persons be well formed, and their complexions sufficiently fair to enable them to pass for genuine Moguls.

APPENDIX No. 7.

RETINUE OF MOGUL COURT.—Bernier, Volume II., page 86.

He is attended not only by the thirty-five thousand Cavalry which at all times compose his body guard, and by Infantry exceeding ten thousand in number, but likewise by the heavy Artillery and the light or stirrup Artillery, so called because it is inseparable from the King's person, which the large pieces of ordnance must occasionally quit for the high roads, in order that they may proceed with greater facility. The heavy Artillery consists of seventy pieces, mostly of brass. Many of these cannon are so ponderous that twenty yoke of oxen are necessary to draw them along, and some, when the road is steep or rugged, require the aid of elephants, in addition to the oxen, to push the carriage-wheels with their heads and trunks. The stirrup Artillery is composed of fifty or sixty small field-pieces, all of brass, each mounted, as I have observed elsewhere, on a small carriage of neat construction and beautifully painted—decorated with a number of red streamers, and drawn by two handsome horses, driven by an artilleryman. There is always a third or relay horse which is led by an assistant gunner. These field-pieces travel at a quick rate that they may be ranged in front of the royal tent in sufficient time to fire a volley as a signal to the troops of the Kings' arrival.

APPENDIX No. 8.

DISTRESS CAUSED BY REMITTANCES.—Forster, Volume I., page 8.

From the period of Aurungzebe's death until nearly the date of our territorial establishment in India, when the Mogul Empire still preserved a large possession of its power, the balance of the revenues of Bengal was punctually conveyed in specie and bills to the Imperial Treasury. The remittance of this amount has been known to cause so great a scarcity of money that many persons, possessed of even large property, have incurred difficulties in defraying their domestic expenses.

APPENDIX No. 9.

DESOLATION OF COUNTRY UNDER MOGUL RULE.—Bernier, Volume I., pages 229, 230, 231.

But there are many circumstances to be considered as forming a counterpoise to these riches.

I.—Of the vast tracts of country constituting the Empire of Hindoostan many are little more than sand or barren mountains, badly cultivated and thinly peopled, and even a considerable portion of the good land remains untilled from want of labourers, many of whom perish in consequence of the bad treatment they experience from the Governors. These poor people, when incapable of discharging the demands of their rapacious lords, are not only often deprived of the means of subsistence, but are bereft of their children, who are carried away as slaves. Thus it happens that many of the peasantry, driven to despair by so execrable a tyranny, abandon the country and seek a more tolerable mode of existence either in the towns or camps, as porters, carriers of water, or Cavalry servants. Sometimes they fly to the territories of a Rajah, because there they find less oppression and are allowed a greater degree of comfort.

II.—The Empire of the Great Mogul comprehends several nations over which he is not absolute master. Most of them still retain their own peculiar Chiefs or Sovereigns, who obey the Mogul, or pay him tribute only, from compulsion. In many instances this tribute is of trifling amount, in others, none is paid; and I shall adduce instances of nations which instead of paying receive tribute.

The petty sovereignties bordering the Persian frontiers, for example, seldom pay tribute either to the Mogul or to the King of Persia. Nor can the former be said to receive anything considerable from the people of Beloochistan, Affghanistan, and other mountaineers, who indeed seem to feel nearly independent of him, as was proved by their conduct when the Mogul marched from Attock on the Indus to Cabul, for the purpose of besieging Candahar. By stopping the supply of water from the mountains and preventing its descent into the fields contiguous to the public road, they completely arrested the army on its march, until the mountaineers received from the Mogul the presents which they had solicited in the way of alms.

APPENDIX No. 10.

DESOLATE STATE OF COUNTRY BETWEEN DELHI AND LAHORE.—Bernier, Volume II., page 120.

I shall say nothing of the towns and villages between Delhi and Lahore. I have in fact scarcely seen any of them. My Aga's station not being in the centre of the army, where the high road is often found, but in the front of the right wing, it was our custom to traverse fields and bye-paths during the night, guided by the stars, frequently mistaking our way and marching five or six leagues instead of three or four—the usual distance between two encampments—till daylight again set us right.

APPENDIX No. 11.

WEALTH OF SHAHJEHAN.—Elphinstone, Volume II., page 399.

All these vast undertakings were managed with so much economy that, after defraying the expenses of his great expeditions to Candahar, his wars in Bulkh, and other heavy charges, and maintaining a regular Army of 200,000 Horse, Shahjehan left a treasure which some reckon at near £6,000,000 and some at £24,000,000 sterling in coin, besides his vast accumulation in wrought gold and silver and in jewels.*

APPENDIX No. 12.

TAXATION.—Cunningham, page 365.

The proportions of the land tax to the general revenues of British India are nearly as follows:—
Bengal, $\frac{3}{4}$; Bombay, $\frac{1}{2}$; Madras, $\frac{2}{3}$; Agra, $\frac{1}{2}$; Average = $\frac{1}{2}$ of the whole.
In some European States the proportions are nearly as below:—
England, $\frac{1}{10}$; France, $\frac{1}{3}$; Spain, $\frac{1}{7}$ (perhaps some error);
Belgium, $\frac{1}{11}$; Prussia, $\frac{1}{11}$; Naples, $\frac{1}{2}$; Austria, $\frac{1}{3}$.
In the United States of America the revenue is almost wholly derived from customs.

APPENDIX No. 13.

ENGLISH AND NATIVE CHARACTER CONTRASTED.—Jeffrey, pages 350–51, and page 343.

The most remarkable piece of statistics, however, with which he [Baber] has furnished us is in his account of Hindoostan, which he first entered as a conqueror in 1525. It here occupies 25 closely-printed quarto pages, and contains, not only an exact account of its boundaries, population, resources, revenues, and divisions, but a full enumeration of all its useful fruits, trees, birds, beasts, and fishes, with such a minute description of their several habitudes and peculiarities as would make no contemptible figure in a modern work of Natural History.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

The country and towns of Hindoostan are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have an uniform look, its gardens have no walls, the greater part of it is a level plain. The banks of its rivers and streams, in consequence of the rushing of the torrents that descend during the rainy season, are worn deep into the channel, which makes it generally difficult and troublesome to cross them. In many places the plain is covered by a thorny brushwood to such a degree that the people of the Pergunnahs, relying on these forests, take shelter in them, and, trusting to their inaccessible situation, often continue in a state of revolt, refusing to pay their taxes. In Hindoostan, if you except the rivers, there is little running water.

* Bernier says under 6,000,000*l.*, Volume I., page 305, Khafi Khan says 24,000,000*l.*, and he is not likely to exaggerate, for he makes Shahjehan's revenue 23,000,000*l.* (only 1,000,000*l.* more than that now collected in the British portion of India), while it is generally reckoned to have been 32,000,000*l.*, and is admitted by Bernier when depreciating it to be greater than that of Persia and Turkey put together (Volume I., page 303.)

Page 343.—We come then, though a little reluctantly, to the conclusion, that there is a natural and inherent difference in the character and temperament of the European and Asiatic races, consisting perhaps chiefly in a superior capacity of patient and persevering thought in the former, and displaying itself for the most part in a more sober and robust understanding, and a more reasonable, principled, and inflexible morality. It is this which has led us, at once to temper our political institutions with prospective checks and suspicious provisions against abuses, and, in our different orders and degrees, to submit, without impatience, to those checks and restrictions; to extend our reasonings by repeated observation and experiment to larger and larger conclusions, and thus gradually to discover the paramount importance of discipline and unity of purpose in war, and of absolute security to person and property in all peaceful pursuits—the folly of all passionate and vindictive assertion of supposed rights and pretensions, and the certain recoil of long continued injustice on the heads of its authors—the substantial advantages of honesty and fair dealing over the most ingenious systems of trickery and fraud, and even—though this is the last and hardest as well as the most precious of all the lessons of reason and experience—that the toleration, even of religious errors, is not only prudent and merciful in itself and most becoming a fallible and erring being, but is the surest and speediest way to compose religious differences, and to extinguish that most formidable bigotry and those most pernicious errors which are fed and nourished by persecution. It is the want of this knowledge, or rather of the capacity for attaining it, that constitutes the palpable inferiority of the Eastern races; and, in spite of their fancy, ingenuity, and restless activity, condemns them, it would appear irretrievably, to vices and sufferings, from which nations, in a far ruder condition, are comparatively free. But we are wandering too far from the magnificent Baber and his commentators, and must now leave these vague and general speculations for the facts and details that lie before us.

APPENDIX No. 14.

SKETCH OF MOGUL ADMINISTRATION.—Elphinstone, Volume II., page 299.

The Empire was divided into 15 Subahs or Provinces. The chief officer in each was the viceroy (*Sipah salar*), who had the complete control, civil and military, subject to the instructions of the King.

Under him were the revenue functionaries above mentioned, and also the military commanders of districts (*Foujdars*), whose authority extended over the local soldiery or militia, and over all military establishments and lands assigned to military purposes, as well as over the regular troops within their jurisdiction, and whose duty it was to suppress all disorders that required force within the same limits.

Justice was administered by a Court composed of an officer named Miradil (Lord Justice and a Cazie. The latter conducted the trial and stated the law, the other passed judgment, and seems to have been the superior authority—the distinction probably arising from the modifications introduced by the will of the Prince and the customs of the country into the strict Mahomedan Law, of which the Cazie was the organ.

The Police of considerable towns was under an officer called the Kotwal; in smaller places it was under the Revenue Officer, and in villages of course under the internal authorities. The tone of instructions to all these functionaries is just and benevolent, though by no means exempt from the vagueness and puerility that is natural to Asiatic writings of this sort.

Those to the Kotwal keep up the prying and meddling character of the police under a despotism; they prohibit forestalling and regrating, &c., and, in the midst of some very sensible directions, there is an order that any one who drinks out of the cup of the common executioner shall lose his hand—a law worthy of Menu, and the more surprising as the spirit of all the rules for administering justice is liberal and humane. A letter of instructions to the Governor of Guzerat, preserved in a separate history of that province, restricts his punishments to putting in irons, whipping, and death; enjoining him to be sparing in capital punishments; and, unless in cases of dangerous sedition, to inflict none until he has sent the proceedings to Court and received the Emperor's confirmation. Capital punishment is not to be accompanied with mutilation or other cruelty.

APPENDIX No. 15.

PUNJAB REVENUE.—Burnes, Volume II., page 288.

The productions of the Punjab, together with the nature of its population, are favourable to its separate existence as a Government. The net revenue of the country amounts to about two and a half crores of Rupees per annum. Of this sum thirty-one lakhs are derived from Cashmere, exclusive of ten expended in its defence; but that province forms a kingdom of itself, and could yield double the amount. An individual who lately held Cashmere for three years, and paid his thirty-one lakhs regularly, was found to have carried upwards of thirty lakhs of Rupees out of the country in goods and money, the whole of which have been confiscated; but his successors in office, some Cashmere Pundits, are said to have rivalled in the following year this extensive peculator.

APPENDIX No. 16.

CHARACTER OF GOVERNMENT UNDER RUNJEET SINGH.—Burnes, Volume II., page 295.

With many defects, Runjeet Singh's Government is most vigorous and well consolidated for a Native State. The failings in it partake of the country and its customs, but its virtues (and it certainly has some) belong to a higher scale of civilization. The greatest blemish in the character of the ruler himself may be found in his universal distrust of those around him, but he only shares this quality in common with his countrymen. To such an extent is this feeling carried that none of the French Officers are ever entrusted with a gun, and the different gates of Attock and other important fortresses are confined to separate individuals, who command independent of one another. Cunning is the chief weapon in the politics of Runjeet Singh, and he uses it at all times. Little addicted to speaking truth, and less given to the performance than the making of promises, he yet rules with an unprecedented moderation for an Indian Prince. Few men, with such despotic power, have ever used it so mildly, and when we remember that he is without education, our estimate of his character must rise with the reflection that he never sheds the blood of his subjects, and even spares the lives (though not the persons) of those who have perpetrated the blackest deeds.

APPENDIX No. 17.

STATEMENT OF IMPERIAL ASSETS, INCOME, AND EXPENDITURE DURING THE MOGUL DYNASTY.

According to "Ferishta," the Imperial Assets at the time of Jellaloodeen Mahomed Akbar the Great were far greater than at any period of the Mogul dynasty. The following are the quotations, including a detail of elephants and horses, &c., which will be found interesting:—

"Tunka" coined "Elaie," value Rupees one hundred millions.
Rubies, "Khassgie," kept apart by the Emperor, weighing one maund.
Rubies and other precious stones, weighing ten maunds.
Gold uncoined; seventy maunds.
Silver, uncoined, one hundred and sixty maunds.
Copper Pice, fifty billions.
Elephants, above five thousand in number.
Horses, twelve thousand.
Deer, five thousand.
Leopards, more than nine hundred and less than one thousand.
Hawks, five hundred.

It would not be astonishing to observe that probably this statement has been exaggerated; but at all events nine crores of Rupees were insignificant before Akbar. It has been heard from some persons of trust and respectability that there were about ninety crores of hard cash and precious stones in the Imperial chests of Akbar the Great, and it has also been discovered from some of the royal expenditures described in the books, that in reality the Royal Treasury was full. It is also recorded in "Meerat Afiah Noomie" that the Emperor Akbar once filled upwards of nine crores of Rupees in a tank known as "Unoop Sagir," near Futtepore Seekree, and distributed it to the deserving and destitute.

Emperor Jehangeer, in his narrative, states that when he first got the Empire, he ascended the throne which his father had constructed for him. In addition to the three hundred maunds of gold and fifty maunds of ambergris spent on construction of the throne, two crores of goldmohurs, each weighing five "miskals," or one tola ten mashes and one and a half ruttee, were expended in enamelling it with jewels; and he wore the crown of his father which had twelve adamants, valuing one lakh goldmohurs of five "miskals" each, on the corners, and was decorated with emeralds and pearls of four "miskals" each, to the value of one lakh goldmohurs and two hundred garnets, worth Rupees six thousand each.

It is mentioned in "Shahjehan Nama" that, from the commencement of the rule of Shahjehan to the date of writing the "Shahjehan Nama," nine crores and fifty lakhs of Rupees were expended in the reign of Shahjehan, of which one-half, or more than one-half, was expended in adventures and prizes. The price of the adamant (ilmas) weighing eight "miskals," which the mother of Ibrahim Loodee had presented to Babur Shah, was stated by the jewellers of the time to be all the world. Nine crores of Rupees were expended by the Emperor Shahjehan in decorating and constructing a peacock throne. It is also famous that there were two hidden treasures, known as "Jhoonra," and "Bhoora" at the time of Alumgeer, which were all consumed by Khan Jehan, one of the courtiers, in the Deccan war—*vide* the following verse which occurs in Mirza Jaffir *alias* Zeetallees' Pasquinade regarding Khan Jehan:—"That you have spent Jhoonra and Bhoora uselessly without doing any good." Again it is asserted in "Moozuffuree" that Nadir Shah carried away (as a booty) with him about forty crores of Rupees worth of property, ornaments, and jewellery from the Royal Treasury, city of Delhi, and State courtiers.

All these above narrations and expenditures tend to confirm the statement that the Imperial assets amounted to eighty or ninety crores of Rupees, of which eight crores of Rupees were set apart for State requirements, in the reign of Jehangeer, for the purpose of being made known to all. It is also alleged that the Emperor caused some buildings to be constructed for the reception of treasure, in which he buried his treasure and jewels, and got the masons and others acquainted with the circumstance annihilated, so that no one may find trace of it.

The resources and income of the country, as taken from "Ayeen Akbaree" and other Histories, appear to be as follows:—

The income derived from the produce of all the provinces amounted to nine billions six hundred and forty-eight millions five hundred and nine thousand four hundred and fifty "dams," which, according to calculation, would give two hundred and forty-one millions two hundred and five thousand and eleven Rupees and four annas. It is stated in "Mujmaool Salateen," that the total revenue of the twenty-two provinces of India, including Deccan, &c. (which latter the Emperor had specially reserved for his pocket expenses), amounted to ninety-six crores of Rupees. From this it can be surmised that Rs. 2,41,205,011-4 were on account of the actual revenue derived from the lands; the additional income was derived from the Deccan provinces, sayer taxes, fines, fees, percentages, &c., together with the munfee income from the tributaries of Jeypore, Jodhpore, Beekaneer, Hyderabad, Bungala, &c., which makes up a sum total of ninety-six crores of Rupees.

Of the ancient buildings some, which are out of question, were constructed by the former rulers, such as the Mahomedan Mosque and Minaret at Mehroolee, a second incomplete Minaret Iron "Keelee" of Rana Pirtheeraj *alias* Roy Peethora, with temple attached, and the buildings and minaret or the well-known "Kootubkee Lath," built by Feroze Shah, son of Salar Rujjub, which, up to this day, bears the holy inscriptions of the Kooran. But of the buildings erected from the time of Humayoon to that of Alumgeer, the construction of the fort of Shahjehanabad at Delhi (which surpassed all the other forts constructed during the period) was very costly. Some say Rupees fifty lakhs were expended, while others say one crore, viz., fifty lakhs in purchase of stone, lime, and bricks, &c., and fifty lakhs in defraying the wages and pay of masons, and awarding prizes, &c. Of all the architectural buildings constructed at the time, the most predominant one is "Taj Beebee ka Roaza," regarding the expenditure on which there are conflicting statements, some say Rs. 50,00,000, and some say Rs. 75,00,000. The other buildings constructed by Shahjehan and his ancestors thus occur in the Histories:—

	Rupees.
Ukbarabad Ford with other buildings, except Roazah Taj Beebee ka	6,000,000
Allahabad Fort, not including the cost of stone and materials	35,00,000
Musjid Jumah Delhi	10,00,000
Buildings constructed at Lahore at the time of Shahjehan	12,00,000
Ditto at Cabul	20,00,000
Ditto at Cashmere	20,00,000
Ditto at Hissar, Candahar, &c.	20,00,000
Ditto at Ajmere and Amedabad, Guzerat	12,00,000
A building over the Anasagur Tank	3,00,000
Tomb of Emperor Humayoon	15,00,000

NOTE.

Restrictions on Hindoos in the Bhawulpore Territory.

No Hindoo, during the rule of the Khans, was allowed to carry an umbrella.

When a Hindoo made water, he was not allowed to do so in the direction of Mecca; if he did so, he was fined.

The Hindoos of the State of Bhawulpore were not allowed to blow the *sankh* at the religious ceremonies.

In "Arnold's Dalhousie" there is an account of the Koh-i-Noor diamond, how it brought ruin on many of its owners. Page 191.

Officers who have served in Native States seem to have an idea, as expressed by Cunningham in his preface, page 9, that England should reign over Kings in India rather than rule over subjects.—*Cunningham's Sikhs.*

"Arnold's Dalhousie" contains some useful information on the change brought about in the Punjab by the British Government

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Kaye's Administration of the Company may be read with profit.

Metcalfe's Despatches.

Prinsep, giving various useful information during the period he was Secretary to Government.

On the defects of the English Government in India, Sir William Napier's works, whilst writing on the policy of his brother, Sir Charles Napier, may be read with very great profit. Lord Metcalfe's despatches are admirable; but at the present moment I am without a copy.

Forced labour is a great hardship on the subjects of Foreign States. The want of roads in Native States is a great hindrance to trade and travellers. Natives object to the general system of education which enables all classes to rise; they are in favour of class restrictions. They also think that our system of repressing crime is less efficacious than that pursued in Native States; that our Police are most oppressive, and lead to the punishment of many people unjustly; that petty crimes, forgery, false evidence, are fostered in our Courts. That English Courts punish rich and poor, high and low, without making any and fair allowances. The Hill rule, before the British conquered Simla and other Hill territories, are quoted to prove that truth and honesty flourished under a Native system more than under British rule.

From WILLIAM FORD, Esq., C.S.I., Agent to the Lieutenant Governor, Punjab, for the Affairs of Bhawulpore, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department.—(No. 201, dated August 20th 1867.)

I HAVE the honour, in continuation of my letter No. 195, dated 9th August 1867, to forward a confidential report from Captain Minchin, Superintendent of Bhawulpore. It will form, as it were, a conclusion to the report already submitted by me. It describes the actual condition of a Native State.

From CAPTAIN C. MINCHIN, Political Superintendent of Bhawulpore, to the Agent to the LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR for the Affairs of Bhawulpore.—(Dated July 31st 1867.)

WITH reference to the Under Secretary to the Government of India's confidential letter of the 1st July last, calling for a statement on the subject whether the masses of the people are more prosperous and happy (*sua si bona norint*) in British territory than under Native rulers, I have the honour to submit the following report on the Bhawulpore State for incorporation with your own report to Government.

Inhabitants of Bhawulpore are Daoodputras, Juts, and Hindoos.

2. The inhabitants of the Bhawulpore State may be divided into three classes, *viz.*, Daoodputras, Juts, and Hindoos.

Juts are the descendants of original owners of the country.

The Juts are the descendants of the original owners of the country prior to its seizure by Daoodputras.

The Daoodputras are clearly of Arabian extraction, whence they emigrated to Sinde, and were divided into two large tribes, the Kuloras and Daoodputras. The former proving the stronger after bloody struggle, the Daoodputras were again obliged to move and settle on the strip of country now known as Bhawulpore which was so named from Bhawul Khan the 1st, who assumed the title of Nawab and sovereignty of the State. Prior to this the tribe was governed by the headmen of the several sections, of whom the head of the Peer Janees was regarded as the principal Mookuddum, or chief.

Daoodputras of Arabian origin that settled in Sinde.

Were ejected by Kuloras.

Settled in what is now known as Bhawulpore.

Account of Bhawul Khan the 1st.

Bhawul Khan the 1st was a very enterprising, ambitious man; and raising an army of mercenaries, he gradually brought the whole State into subjection. His descendants followed the same policy. No Daoodputras were allowed to hold any offices in the State, or were employed in the army, but their lands were held on exceptionally light leases on condition of feudal service.

3. Bhawul Khan the 3rd was the best of his race, and his rule is always referred to as the period in which this State was in the height of its prosperity, although shorn of its proportion by the annexation of the Trans-Sutlej portions by Maharajah Runjeet Sing, and he is always spoken of now as Bhawul Khan Salis bil Khair. My remark will be chiefly confined to a description of the State under his rule.

Account of Bhawul Khan the 3rd, called Bhawul Khan Salis bil Khair.

4. Bhawul Khan the 3rd looked after everything himself, and, where his own interests were concerned, was above being influenced by under-hand means. A story is told of him, that a certain Kardar who served him faithfully was in consequence very obnoxious to the Mohars, a family of Syuds in the Bhawulgurh Kardarship, who tried to get him removed without effect, and at last induced the Shajadah Nusheen of Tawsa, their Peer, to use his influence, when the Nawab plainly told him to mind his own business and not interfere in affairs of State. By good management and living well within his income he accumulated a large treasure, which, however, was soon dissipated by his successor. He kept the Daoodputras well under control; his openly-expressed opinion being that all they required was a horse and a gun, and anything beyond that only turned their heads and made them rebellious.

5. The Nawab maintained a force consisting of four Regiments of Infantry, one of Artillery, and a sort of Body-guard known as the Bargeers, mounted on horses belonging to and kept by the Nawab. The troops received rations and a small pay in addition. These rations were distributed through an establishment known as the Modikhana, which also supplied rations to the principal Officers of the State and Palace Attendants. It was never well managed, and led to great abuses, especially under the late Nawabs Futteh Khan and Bhawul Khan the 4th, when the number of persons receiving rations was largely increased. The Kardars were obliged to furnish the grain from the State granaries, and with a little arrangement this could have been easily done. But a custom prevailed of holding an audit of accounts on the Salgirab, about the end of June or beginning of July, on the "Akri Char Shumba," when the rubbee crops could not possibly have been collected; and as each Kardar was obliged to present a large nuzzer in cash as a portion of the proceeds of his collections, they were obliged to forestall the harvests and sell their grain below the value; then, when they were called on to supply grain, they could only do so by buying it again at a loss, which re-acted on the people by raising the price of grain to almost famine rates. A very high import duty on grain, called so long one-sixteenth of value, prevented importation of grain from British territory, and so equalizing the markets. When the Kardars failed to supply the grain they were kept prisoners at Ahmedpore until the deficiency was made good, which could only be done by their Naibs using the most oppressive measures to obtain the required quantity of grain, until at last it became the common talk of the country that the Modikhana had eaten up the State.

Account of the Bhawulpore army.

Modkihana.

Abuses in consequence of mismanagement.

6. The maintenance of Bargeers led to another abuse, which was quite as bad under Bhawul Khan Salis bil Khair as any of his successors. Each Bargeer was allowed two horses—one for riding and the other was out at grass, but really fed and maintained by the Zemindars, as the Churwadars, that is horse-keepers, would threaten to cut down the finest crops in the country unless paid to abstain from doing so. The Kardars dared not interfere, and the horse-keepers lived at free quarters. The Nawab, however, paid largely for the keep of these horses, which were supposed to be fed on atta, goor, and ghee, which, it is needless to say, were the perquisites of the horse-keepers, while the horses were fed by the Zemindars.

Exactions of horse-keepers.

7. Bhawul Khan the 3rd was passionately fond of shooting, particularly black buck and ravine deer, and for this sport had large enclosures called "sirgh," made up, miles of strong hedges converging to a point forming a run through which the deer were driven. To make up these hedges and keep them in good order, he maintained a large establishment of carts and bullocks. There are now some 500 pairs of bullocks belonging to the Nawab, which is much less than there used to be. These cattle had rations allowed for them, but, as in the case of the horse-keepers, the cartmen considered it as their perquisite, while the cattle were fed by the Zemindars, on whom they had a much greater hold than the horse-keepers, as the Nawab, having a right to a certain portion of kurbee, *i.e.*, jowar grass, on most of the estates, transferred this right to the cartmen, who paid into the State Treasury a nuzzurana amounting to nearly 1,000 Ahmedporee Rupees per annum. The jowar grass is much valued by the Zemindars, as it is the only grass they can procure in seasons of drought to keep their cattle alive; and it may be easily imagined how the cartmen used their power.

Exactions by cartmen.

Hundreds of Zemindars deserted their lands and settled in the Dera Ghazee Khan, Moozuffergurh, and Mooltan districts. From what I can learn, the exactions of the cartmen were most felt by the people, although the tyranny of horse-keepers and mismanagement of the Modikhana largely contributed to the disorganization of the State.

Consequence of those exactions.

8. There was also another establishment which gave great offence, but chiefly to the better class of Zemindars and the Revenue Officials; this was the "Kunjkee" Establishment, a sort of running footmen attached to the Nawab's cart, who accompanied him wherever he went, armed with small axes and a peculiar rod or wand of office; their duty was to clear away all obstructions on the road, to seize the arms of persons shooting in the desert or State preserves, and confiscate their property.

Kunjkee Establishment.

Description of buttai system.

9. With the exception of the Daoodputras, who hold their lands on light kussoor rates, the Government share of the produce is taken by buttai, unless the estate has been granted on an istumrari tenure. The State, therefore, is obliged to guard the standing crops to prevent embezzlement. This duty is performed by a body of men called Moohussils, who pay a nuzzurana for performing this duty, and are allowed to receive from the Zemindars a certain share of grain. They are overlooked by persons called Chungoos, a sort of spy, also paid by the Zemindars. To each village one or two Mirdahs are appointed as overseers. As soon as the crops are cut and thrashed at each thrashing floor they are divided into two heaps of unequal size; the larger heap is first divided according to the village rate, either one-fifth or two-fifths, as the case may be, dependent on whether the estate is irrigated by wells, canals, or river inundation, but varying in each village. No Mulba accounts are kept, but all the village servants, Dhurwaees, Moohussils, Kombhars, Kootanahs, are paid from the small heap, as also Takeers, and persons obtaining grants from the State. The State now, as formerly the Nawba's, is entitled to specific shares as follows:—

Choongee,	3 puropees	per manne of	15 maunds,
Lawer,	3	ditto	ditto
Machee,	2	ditto	ditto
Moohussillana,	1	topa ditto	ditto
Dhurrut	1	ditto	ditto
Gareeba	6 puropees	ditto	ditto

besides zubtee shares, that is, lapses occasioned by the death of proprietors without heirs. The Dhurwaees, as well as Moohussils, pay nuzzurs for performing their duties, and their share is paid by the Zemindars, and is quite separate from the sewi items above entered. After these deductions have been made, any grain remaining over is divided, as before, between the proprietor and the State. The local customs have been adhered to, and having several times assisted in this distribution, the above may be accepted as a general account of the manner in which the buttai is effected. I enclose a copy of Wasil Baki accounts of the Hasilpoor Pergunnah for the last khureef, which exhibits the actual collections thus made.

See Appendix No. I.

Position of Zemindars under the Bhawulpore *régime*.

10. The position of a Zemindar under the Bhawulpore *régime* was dependent in some measure on his relationship to some party at Court, however humble, or to his residing at a long distance from the Court. In either case he was often able to obtain exemption from the general tyranny exercised by the cart-men and horse-keepers. Certain classes, as the Daoodputras, were exempt from this treatment, and held their lands on light leases, but they were prevented from obtaining any position of power or influence, were prohibited from hunting, discouraged from improving their estates, lived chiefly on their kussoor grants which were paid in money or kind, and were liable to have their wives taken from them at any time if passably good-looking. The Zemindars in this neighbourhood, with a few exceptions, are the most miserable, spiritless people I have seen; they catch eagerly at every rumour and misinterpret it in the most incredible manner. The report of a Civil Surgeon having been sanctioned for Bhawulpore put them in the most dreadful fright, and by one impulse, as it were, nearly every male child in the State who had not undergone the operation was at once circumcised. Exaggerated stories about the precautions taken at Mooltan to prevent the spread of cholera and the tales of the Emam Mehndi were blended together to account for the alarm. I have endeavoured to get up weekly meetings in a garden near my house to get acquainted familiarly with the people. Those who have broken the ice gladly come again, but it is very difficult to bring in others. Zemindars summoned in criminal cases attend with fear and trembling, and it will be some time before they obtain the manly independence which is the striking characteristic of the Zemindars in the frontier districts. I attach a list of more than 300 men living in the Bhawulpore neighbourhood who have left it in consequence of the treatment they received during the last 14 years. A similar list might be made out for each Kardarship in the State. They are now beginning to return, and I trust a happy day is yet in store for the Zemindars of this State. The exactions of the cart-men and horse-keepers have been stopped. The Modikhana is worked so efficiently that its operation is scarcely perceived, and it is only the customs which now presses on them. They are so accustomed to the buttai that they hardly perceive its hardship,

See Appendix No. II.

and dread the idea of a money settlement. Large numbers of Sikhs and Bagrees are entering the State to get leases of land on money assessment, a report of which I hope to submit with this.

Account of the Kussoor under the Bhawulpore *réyime*.

11. As far as I can learn, the Hindoos are well treated; in fact they are too important a portion of the community to be treated otherwise. They were obliged to purchase the Nawab's share of produce at a little above the current price of grain, and also to furnish Zemindars with seed grain; but though this is an interference with the liberty of the subject, they never lost by such transactions. They had occasionally to give forced loans and to contribute to the expenses of State ceremonials, but this was never regarded as a grievance. The richer classes always obtained exemption from local cesses, and were able to manage the Zukat officials so as to avoid payment of a portion of the heavy customs dues. This I find has largely contributed to the unpopularity of the present customs management, as, although the dues are reduced, they are not able to avoid payment, and consider the department more severe than it used to be. Religious bigotry prompted the governing class to encourage butchers to kill bullocks in the most objectionable places for the Hindoos close to their Dhurmsallas! A few men were forcibly circumcised, but no other interference was made with their religion.

Private life of the Nawabs.

12. In private the Nawabs indulged in the grossest licentiousness; they kept a number of women in the harems as procuresses, whose business it was to look out for women, and any good-looking women were at once seized and married by the Nawab, whether they had previously been married or not. I understand that the first husbands of a great number of the Begums in Dillawur are still alive. These Daies obtained great influence over the Nawabs, and one known as the Sooltanee Daie was consulted by the late Nawab on every subject. Her influence was eagerly sought after, so that she amassed large wealth. These Nawabs have a race of hereditary servants, called "Khass Khellies," who are required to allow the Nawab the first embraces of their daughters before they are married to other persons, what Beaumont and Fletcher called the "custom of the country." Bhawul Khan the 3rd was no exception, and though he lived to an old age comparatively, his excesses shortened his life, and for some years before his death he was subject to fits of monomania, which made him hate the sight of men and forced him to live in the deserts. A vein of insanity ran through the family, no doubt a consequence of their excesses.

Principal Officers of State were foreigners.

13. The principal officers of the State were generally foreigners, residents of Mooltan, and, having no stake in the country, had but one object, to make their fortunes. The consequence was, that generally their tyranny became so oppressive that they were either obliged to fly, or paid the forfeit of their lives. A pension list is attached to the Customs department, containing amongst others, a long list of women whose husbands had been Wuzeers and killed by order of the Nawab, their lands confiscated, and a small pension given to the widows and daughters.

Pension list of widows whose husbands had been Wuzeers and whose estates had been confiscated.

The Wuzeers employed during the last 40 years and their fate.

14. While on this subject it may be interesting to give a list of the Wuzeers employed during the last 40 years and their fate. In 1819, on the death of Nawab Sadik Mahomed Khan, one Sheik Mukbooll was Wuzeer. His wish was that Azeem Yar Khan should be made Nawab; but by the assistance of one Yakoob Mahomed, Khass Khelli, and certain Daoodputras, Bhawul Khan the 3rd was appointed, who at once made Yakoob Mahomed Wuzeer and murdered Sheik Mukbooll. Yakoob Mahomed was Wuzeer for ten years, when getting too powerful and the Nawab wishing to get hold of his wife, sent him a dose of poison, but that *not* acting speedily enough, his throat was cut, and his wife and two daughters taken into the harem. This was about 1829. Moolla Jewun was appointed Wuzeer, and remained in this position throughout Bhawul Khan the 3rd's reign. On his death he nominated Sadut Yar Khan to succeed him, who appointed one Chawkees Rae as his Wuzeer. Within four months, however, Futteh Khan, by the assistance of Akhil Mahomed and the Daoodputras, became Nawab, and his first act was to murder Chawkees Rae and confiscate his property. Fukeer Surajooddeen was then made Wuzeer, but within eight months was murdered by order of the Nawab. Jemadar Ahmed Khan was then made Wuzeer. On Nawab Futteh Khan's death his son, Bhawul Khan

the 4th, succeeded him, by whose orders Ahmed Khan was murdered in 1862; since then Dewan Megraj, Mahomed Hussun, Nusseerooddeen, and Nizam Khan became the principal Officers of the State under the title of Meer Moonshee. With the exception of the last four Officers and Moolla Jewun, who died a natural death, though his property was confiscated subsequently, every Wuzeer was murdered. Mahomed Hussun had to escape to save his life, and Nusseerooddeen was in prison when the late Nawab died.

Condition of Zeemindars under the British Rule.

15. With regard to the condition of Zemindars under British rule, the best proof of their material prosperity is shown in the increase of cultivation, the necessity of excavating new canals to give an opening to the redundant population, who can no longer be supported on the paternal acres, the capital embarked by the Zemindars themselves on agricultural projects, sinking new wells, opening new canals, &c., the enhanced value of land, and lastly, the readiness with which the wilder tribes on the border especially adapt themselves to the decisions of our Courts. My own experience is chiefly confined to the frontier districts of Bunnoo, Dera Ismael Khan, and Dera Ghazee Khan, but I doubt if anywhere in India there is a more contented population than in these districts.

People residing in the adjoining hills anxious to obtain settlement in the plains.

Settlement of Wuzeerees in Bunnoo District.

16. Along the whole border the people residing in the adjoining hills are particularly anxious to obtain settlement in the plains; the great difficulty is the want of water. In Bunnoo the settlement of the Wuzeerees on the Tull has transformed the most turbulent district on the frontier into one of the quietest. The state of this frontier was most admirably described by Sir H. Edwardes in his *Year in the Punjab*. The Wuzeerees then merely grazed their cattle on the Tull: during the last 18 years they have settled down as cultivators; they have a light settlement, and have consequently saved a good deal of money; and those who, prior to British rule, had scarcely seen money, are now very wealthy. A case which occurred in my Court will clearly show the change that has taken place in consequence. A young Mullick ran off with the destined bride of another man. The father and intended husband gave me a petition on the subject, which was referred to a Jirgah of the tribe, who decided that the offender should pay Rs. 1,000 as compensation to the father of the woman and a wife to the injured intended. The money was paid into Court; but when the parties came up for final adjudication, the father said that if he took the money there would always be a bad feeling between his son-in-law and himself; that a happy home is better than money. He therefore forgave his daughter and her lover, and took upon himself all arrangements to pacify the man to whom she was betrothed, and thus made the most satisfactory termination of a case of this kind that ever came before me.

A case of Abduction.

Capital embarked on agricultural projects in Dera Ghazee Khan District.

*See Appendix No. III.

The sum of Rs. 1,58,000 expended by principal Zemindars.

17. On the subject of capital embarked in agricultural projects, I cannot do better than attach an extract* of a report on the Dera Ghazee Khan district, which I prepared on leaving the district, but which from press of work I have never been able to submit, though I left a rough copy of it in the office for the use of my successor. From this it will be seen that a sum amounting to Rs. 1,58,000 was expended by the principal Zemindars of that district within four years on agricultural works. The greater portion was of course paid by the Belooch Chiefs, Jumal Khan Lughari, Emam Bux Khan Muzari, and Musoo Khan Nootkani, than whom more liberal-minded, enterprising men I have never met. Their position is solely due to being under the British Government, as previously they were simply robber Chiefs, hiding in the hills or morasses by the river bank, and if caught by the Sikhs would have been burnt alive with their followers. Shortly before annexation Jerral Khan Lughari, a far-seeing man, made friends with the Sikhs and so bettered his position; they are now looked upon as the head of their tribes, and all arrangements connected with the tribe are made through them. They have been invested with honorary judicial powers, and hold as enviable a position as any man could hope to obtain under the British rule. There is only one subject on which they all complain, and that is the law regarding adultery. Under British rule this offence has quadrupled. The women believe themselves to be above the law, and it is only the fear of being murdered that keeps them at all in order.

Greater portion paid by Belooch Chiefs.

Redundant population of the Punjab.

18. With regard to the redundant population of the Punjab, the following may be considered as a significant fact. There is a tract of waste land in the Bhawulgurh Kardarship of this State which has hitherto been left to cattle graziers, and is estimated to contain about 100,000 acres: it is entirely dependent on rainfall for even drinking water, but the Nazim of Bhawulpore has received upwards of 15,000 applications for grants of this land from parties residing in Ferozepore, Sirsa, Loodiana, and even Jullundur, who all state that they are obliged to look out for new lands to settle on, as their paternal estates can no longer support them, and there is no available land left in their own districts. Both at Bunnoo and in the Dera Ghazee Khan district lands in favourable localities, situated near large towns, or exceptionally favoured with water for agriculture, sell as high as Rs. 200 an acre, which, I understand, is much higher than the best land in the Jullundur Doab fetches; and the high price paid for the lands taken up for the new fort at Mooltan is another case in point.

Applications for land on the Bhawulgurh Kardarship.

See Appendix No. IV.

19. In conclusion I beg to submit a translation of a memorandum on this interesting subject prepared by Assistant Superintendent Moorad Shah, in which he tersely describes the advantages of British rule as compared with Native Governments, and in the truth of which I fully coincide. It expresses his own feelings on the subject without any attempt at adulation, and may be regarded as genuine. I have drawn out this report in a press of business, and therefore many inaccuracies may occur, and I shall therefore be greatly obliged if you will excuse such portions you may consider inappropriate or foreign to the subject.

APPENDIX I.

I.—STATEMENT showing the Division of State Share in Kind of the Hasilpore Paishkaree on the Tohsil of Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest, commencing from 1st October 1866 to 31st March 1867.

Number.	Name of Village.	Name of Lumberdar.	Name of Well, Jhallar, or Sylaba.	Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence.	Names of Kussoor Khars.	Names of Cultivators.	Date on which the Shares were divided.	Rate of dividing the State Shares.	What sort of Grain.	Total Quantity of the Produce of the Well.	Deduction on account of Owner's Share.	Quantity of State Share.
										M. P. T. P. 173 7 1 1½	M. P. T. P. 121 35 1 1	M. P. T. P. 51 22 0 0½

(*continued*)

| MISCELLANEOUS REVENUE. | | | | | | | | | |

III.—Statement showing the Jummabundee of Dunkhars of the Paishkaree of Hasilpore in the Tehsil of Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest, commencing from 1st October 1866 to 31st March 1867.

Number.	Name of Village.	Name of Well, Jhallar, or Sylabu.	Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence.	Name of Cultivator.	Name of Dungoozar.	Number of Khusrah Paimaish.	What sort of Grain.	Area of Land.	Deductions from Area of Land.			Balance of Area of Land on which the Government Dues will be realized.	Rate of Government Tax per Beegah.		Revenue proper.	
									Dungoozar's Right of 1 Biswah per Beegah.	Kussoor Khar's Right.	Total.		Cash.	Kind.	In Cash.	In Kind.
								B. B. 901 12½	B. B. 33 11½	B. B. 46 4½	B. B. 79 16	B. B. 821 16½			Rs. A. P. 140 2 6	M. P. T. P. 21 8 3 1

(continued.)

Miscellaneous Revenue.																		Total of proper and miscellaneous Revenue.			Paid to Cultivator for cultivating Land.		Remaining in hand.		Add One-fourth to change the Account into Ahmedpore.		Total of Government Share.	
In Cash.			In Kind.																										
Killedbunna Fees.		Choongee at 6 Puropees per Mance.		Kardaree Fees.		Zubtee Fees.		Huftdubee Fees.		Izafa Bhanda at 2 pies per Mance.		Bookh.		Total.				Cash.		Kind.		Cash.	Kind.	Cash.	Kind.	Cash.	Kind.	Cash.	Kind.	Cash.	Kind.
R. A. P.	M. P. T. P.	R. A. P.	M. P. T. P.	R. A. P.	M. P. T. P.	R. A. P.	M. P. T. P.	R. A. P.	M. P. T. P.	R. A. P.	M. P. T. P.	R. A. P.	M. P. T. P.	R. A. P.	M. P. T. P.	R. A. P.	M. P. T. P.	R. A. P.	M. P. T. P.		R. A. P.	M. P. T. P.	R. A. P.	M. P. T. P.	R. A. P.	M. P. T. P.	R. A. P.	M. P. T. P.	R. A. P.	M. P. T. P.
28 7 6	0 10 7 3½	1 8 1	2 0 35 1	3 1 24	2 2 0	48 0 1	0 19 2	0 4 46	1 3½	168 10 0	26 5 1	0½	9 13 0	1 21 1	0	158 12 3	24 34 0	0½	40 13 9	6 8 2	0	199 10 0	30 42 2	6½

Remarks.—The Dunkhars are the descendants of the original proprietors of the soil prior to Dadputra invasion, who pay a fixed rate in cash and kind on the cultivated area of their estates, which is measured.

—Statement showing the Collections of Dun from the Kussoor Khars of the Paishkaree Hasilpore in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest, commencing from 1st October 1866 to 31st March 1867.

Number.	Alphabetical Number	Name of Village.	Name of Well, Jhallar, or Sylabu.	Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence.	Name of Dungoozar Parentage, Caste, and Residence.	What sort of Grain.	Area of Land.	Rate of Dun and Miscellaneous Revenue.		Government Share due.		Realized.		Remaining due.		Surplus Amount.	
								Cash.	Kind.	Cash.	Kind.	Cash.	Kind.	Cash.	Kind.	Cash.	Kind.
							B. B. 821 16½			R. A. P. 199 10 0	R. P. T. P. 30 42 2 0¼	R. A. P. 180 3 9	M. P. T. P. 29 47 1 3	R. A. P. 19 6 3	M. P. T. P. 0 48 2 3¾		M. P. T. P. 0 3 2 2½

V.—STATEMENT (Wasil bakee) showing the Receipts and Balances of the Government Dues of the Villages of Paishkaree Hasilpore in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest commencing from 1st October 1866 to 31st March 1867.

| Number. | Name of Village. | Name of Lumberdar. | GOVERNMENT DUES. | | |

VIII.—STATEMENT (Wasil-bakee Nugd) showing the Collections and Balances in Cash of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest.

Number.	Name of Village.	Name of Lumberdar.	Name of Proprietor.	Government Dues.	Amount realized.	Balance.	Surplus Amount.
				RS. A. P. 475 6 3	RS. A. P. 456 4 3	RS. A. P. 19 2 0	

REMARKS.—This is the Statement of Collections, as shown in Statements Nos. VI. and VII.

IX.—STATEMENT (Nuksha Towzee) of Istumraree Wells of Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest, commencing from 1st October 1866 to 31st March 1867.

Number.	Alphabetical Number.	Name of Village, with Number of Register of Boundaries.	Name of Lumberdar.	Name of Well.	Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence.	Annual Jumma or Government Dues in Ahmedpore Rupees.			Amount due to State.			Amount realized.			Amount realized on account of Kists.	Balance due to the State.	Surplus Amount received erroneously.
						Khureef.	Rubbee.	Total.	Balance of the last Harvest.	Present Harvest.	Total.	Surplus Amount received at the last Harvest.	Received in the present Harvest.	Total.			
										RS. A. P. 1,588 13 3	RS. A. P. 1,588 13 3		RS. A. P. 1,489 0 0	RS. A. P. 1,489 0 0	RS. A. P. 1,489 0 0	RS. A. P. 99 13 3	

REMARKS.—This Statement shows the demand on wells granted on istumraree tenure, *i. e.*, a fixed lease.

X.—STATEMENT (Nuksha Towzee Tuhreer) of the Wells of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest.

Number.	Towzee No.	Name of Village.	Name of Well.	Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence.	Amount due to the State.	Amount realized.	Balance remaining due.
					RS. A. P. 42 9 3	RS. A. P. 41 15 3	RS. A. P. 0 10 0

REMARKS.—This is an extra cess on istumaree tenures for cost of writing, averaging 10 annas per well.

XI.—STATEMENT (Nuksha Jurreeb) of the Wells of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest.

Number.	Towzee No.	Name of Village.	Name of Well.	Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence.	Amount due to the State.	Amount realized.	Balance remaining due.
					RS. A. P. 520 7 3	RS. A. P. 496 9 0	RS. A. P. 24 14 3

REMARKS.—A cess on certain istumraree tenures, varying for Rs. 1 to Rs. 5, to cover the cost of measurements.

XII.—Statement (Nuksha Towzee Towfeer Mamoola) of the Wells of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest.

Number.	Towzee No.	Name of Village.	Name of Well.	Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence.	Amount due to the State.	Amount realized.	Balance remaining due.
					Rs. A. P. 172 14 9	Rs. A. P. 172 14 9	

Remarks.—A fixed demand assessed on certain istumraree wells in lieu of the State demand; an extra cultivation as in Statement No. VI. These wells are consequently not measured.

XIII.—Statement (Nuksha Towzee Abiana) of the Istumraree Wells of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest.

Number.	Towzee No.	Name of Village.	Name of Well.	Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence.	Amount due to the State.	Amount realized.	Balance remaining due.
					Rs. A. P. 222 8 6	Rs. A. P. 214 15 9	Rs. A. P. 7 8 9

Remarks.—A fixed demand on certain istumraree tenures if they take canal water.

XIV.—Statement (Nuksha Towzee Beek Moohuslee) of the Wells of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest, commencing from 1st October 1866 to 31st March 1867.

Number.	Name of Village.	Name of Well.	Towzee No.	Name of Lumberdar.	Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence.	Amount of Beek Moohuslee on Jowar.			Quantity of Grain realized.	Remaining due.
						Quantity in Bhawulpore Current Weight.	Increase according to Ahmedpore Weight.	Total.		
						M. P. Y. P. 0 27 0 2	M. P. Y. P. 0 6 3 2	M. P. Y. P. 0 34 1 2	M. P. Y. P. 0 30 2 2	M. P. Y. P. 0 3 3 0

Remarks.—A cess given originally in charity to one of the watchers, from whom it was confiscated, and henceforward included as a portion of the State demand.

XV.—Statement (Nuksha Nugdee Mamoolah) of the Villages of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest.

Number.	Name of Village.	Name of Malgoozar.	Half-yearly State Share.	Amount realized.	Amount remaining due.
			Rs. A. P. 75 6 9	Rs. A. P. 47 7 9	Rs. A. P. 27 15 0

Remarks.—A fixed demand in cash in addition to the State share of the produce.

XVI.—Statement (Nuksha Towzee Ijara Dhurrut) of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef.

Number.	Name of Village.	Name of Contractor, Parentage, Caste, and Residence.	Annual Jumma:	Amount of Dhurrut Cases.			Amount realized.	Remaining due.
				In Bhawulpooree Rupees.	Increase according to Ahmedpooree Rupees.	Total.		
			R. A. P. 138 1 0	R. A. P. 110 1 0	R. A. P. 28 1 0	R. A. P. 138 1 0		R. A. P. 138 1 0

Remarks.—This is the amount paid by two Dhurwalis for permission to perform their duties; they receive a share of the produce from the Zemindars.

XVII.—Statement (Nuksha Towzee Nuzzurana Enam) of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest, commencing from 1st October 1866 to 31st March 1867.

Number.	Name of Village.	Name of Well.	Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence.	Amount of Nuzzurana.		Amount Realized.		Remaining Due.	
				Cash.	Kind.	Cash.	Kind.	Cash.	Kind.
				R. A. P. 3 12 6	M. P. T. P. 0 1 3 2	R. A. P. 2 8 3		R. A. P. 1 4 3	M. P. T. P. 0 1 3 2

Remarks.—Statement of Nuzzurana paid by parties who hold estates in Enam.

XVIII.—Statement (Nuksha Nuzzurana Tuhreer Putta) of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest, commencing from 1st October 1866 to 31st March 1867.

Number.	Name of Village.	Name of Well.	Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence.	Amount of Putta Fees.	Realized.	Remaining due.
				R. A. P. 10 0 9		R. A. P. 10 0 9

Remarks.—A fee levied on writing puttas for Istumraree or Enam tenures.

XIX.—Statement (Nuksha Khusrah Paimash) of the Paishkaree Hasilpore in the Kardaree Khypore for the Khureef Harvest.

Number.	Name of Village.	Name of Well.	Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste.	Name of Cultivator, Parentage, &c.	East and West Average.	South and North Average.	Area of Land.	Deductions on account of Waste Land.	Remaining to be Assessed.	Description of Land.	What sort of Grain.
							B. B. 168 11		B. B. 168 11		

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APPENDIX II.

STATEMENT of Persons migrated from the Bhawulpore State.

Number.	Name.	Occupation.	Localities.		Date.
			From	To	
1	Mahomed	Weaver	Bhawulpore	Patt Puttun	15th Aug. 1864
	Azeem	,,	,,	Mooltan	11th Feb. 1861
	Golamoo	,,	,,	,,	15th March 1866
	Kewul Mull	Shopkeeper	,,	,,	17th April 1865
5	Alla Bux	Goldsmith	,,	,,	7th Oct. 1865
	Abdool Kurreem	Nukad	,,	,,	9th Sept. 1864
	Kalla	Blacksmith	,,	,,	10th Oct. 1860
	Nwosa	Carpenter	,,	,,	11th March 1852
	Golam Mahomed	Blacksmith	,,	,,	13th Nov. 1857
10	Tugga	,,	,,	,,	20th Sept. 1861
	Talloa	Shopkeeper	,,	,,	17th Dec. 1857
	Jotha	,,	,,	,,	21st Jan. 1861
	Himta	,,	,,	,,	2nd March 1863
	Mukna Mull	,,	,,	,,	21st Jan. 1867
15	Beroo Mull	,,	,,	,,	23rd Sept. 1863
	Goolaba and Looroenda.	Potters	,,	,,	4th Nov. 1868
	Ghunnoo	,,	,,	,,	8th ,, 1862
	Issur	,,	,,	,,	11th Dec. 1864
	Assoo Mull	Shopkeeper	,,	,,	17th Feb. 1862
20	Mohundoss	,,	,,	Adamwaha	19th Jan. 1855
	Boodhoo	,,	,,	Mooltan	17th April 1850
	Dhumma Mull	,,	,,	,,	19th Oct. 1854
	Toolsa	,,	,,	,,	24th July 1859
	Remull	,,	,,	,,	27th June 1858
25	Khewa	,,	,,	Adumwaha	24th May 1857
	Hyat	Dyer	,,	Mooltan	27th July 1862
	Assa Mull	Shopkeeper	,,	Lodhran	29th March 1864
	Jumnoo Mull	,,	,,	Mooltan	17th Dec. 1862
	Pulla	Painter	,,	,,	20th Jan. 1861
30	Roshun	Goldsmith	,,	,,	21st Oct. 1861
	Korra	Dyer	,,	,,	28th March 1861
	Tossun	Shopkeeper	,,	,,	27th Feb. 1863
	Seetul Mull and Ranoo	Dullal	,,	Kot Nijabut	29th ,, 1855
	Ramoo	Shopkeeper	,,	Mooltan	11th Dec. 1855
35	Dhuna Mull	,,	,,	Shoojabad	9th July 1857
	Milkain	,,	,,	Mooltan	17th March 1861
	Ruheem Bux	Weaver	,,	,,	25th Sept. 1861
	Kurreem Bux	,,	,,	,,	27th Nov. 1860
	Mostkeem and Peera	,,	,,	,,	28th July 1861
40	Mahomed Bux	Dyer	,,	,,	29th April 1864
	Yarun	Weaver	,,	,,	25th Nov. 1865
	Waris	,,	,,	,,	26th Jan. 1865
	Waris	,,	,,	,,	17th Aug. 1865
	Jakmee Mull	Dullal	,,	,,	17th Oct. 1859
45	Munga Mull	,,	,,	,,	18th Feb. 1867
	Gopalla	,,	,,	,,	22nd March 1859
	Khooshea Ram and Girdaree.	,,	,,	,,	28th June 1867
	Lalloo Mull	,,	,,	,,	14th March 1860
	Ruheem	Weaver	,,	,,	24th May 1864
50	Mahomed Bux	,,	,,	,,	15th Sept. 1860
	Rumzoo	,,	,,	,,	11th Oct. 1862
	Wulloo	,,	,,	,,	9th Nov. 1862
	Gamoo	,,	,,	,,	10th Dec. 1860
	Rumzan Ali	,,	,,	,,	7th Jan. 1861
55	Moostqueem	,,	,,	,,	5th June 1857
	Mahomed	Dyer	,,	,,	3rd May 1859
	Kadoo	Weaver	,,	,,	2nd Nov. 1858
	Ahmud Bux	Dyer	,,	,,	13th July 1856
	Niamta	Shopkeeper	,,	Mylsee	18th Nov. 1862
60	Allabux	Dyer	,,	Mooltan	21st Feb. 1864
	Ahmed	Weaver	,,	Kenore	27th Oct. 1859
	Korra	Goldsmith	,,	Lodhran	24th June 1865
	Khema Mull	Shopkeeper	,,	Mooltan	23rd Dec. 1857
	Nuwah	Service	,,	,,	26th July 1856
65	Noorun	Brickmaker	,,	,,	16th Oct. 1859

APPENDIX II.—*continued.*

Number.	Name.	Occupation.	Localities. From	Localities. To	Date.
66	Ramoo	Weaver	Bhawulpore	Mooltan	3rd Sept. 1858
	Azeem	"	"	"	9th June 1860
	Alli	Dyer	"	"	15th Jan. 1856
	Khyr Mahomed	Weaver	"	"	29th Nov. 1861
70	Golam Russool	"	"	"	4th Oct. 1862
	Nujuff	"	"	"	17th Jan. 1861
	Buksoo	Blacksmith	"	"	23rd March 1860
	Golam Russool	Weaver	"	"	29th April 1862
	Peerun	Brickmaker	"	Shoojabad	2nd Aug. 1857
75	Mahamdoo	"	"	"	7th Nov. 1859
	Issa	"	"	Kenore	4th Feb. 1860
	Sooltan	"	"	Jogeewalla	15th July 1858
	Jahana	Weaver	"	Kenore	19th Feb. 1852
	Kurrum	"	"	Jalla Rain	27th April 1863
80	Kubool	"	"	Mooltan	4th Oct. 1859
	Ahmud Bux	"	"	"	17th Jan. 1864
	Noorun	"	"	"	14th Dec. 1861
	Golam Hussun	"	"	"	15th June 1861
	Kalloo	Carpenter	"	"	19th Sept. 1858
85	Noorun	"	"	"	24th July 1856
	Azeezoo	Reshum Phera	"	"	17th April 1861
	Wulloo	"	"	"	4th June 1859
	Jama	"	"	"	15th March 1856
	Suttar	"	"	"	19th Oct. 1860
90	Mahomed Bux	Weaver	"	"	20th Sept. 1860
	Golam Russool	"	"	"	4th July 1859
	" Kader	"	"	"	10th Feb. 1858
	Noorun	"	"	"	11th Jan. 1861
	Mahomed	"	"	"	19th Nov. 1863
95	Mahomed Bux	Tailor	"	"	17th June 1860
	Mahomed Moorad	"	"	"	23rd Oct. 1859
	Wallee Mahomed	Weaver	"	"	4th March 1861
	Boodhoo	"	"	"	25th Nov. 1851
	Chuttoo	"	"	"	27th July 1858
100	Alla Bux	Dyer	"	"	21st Sept. 1863
	Ahmud	Reshum Phera	"	"	26th Nov. 1860
	Ruruzan	Dubgar	"	Khyrpore, Mooz-uffergurh.	11th Oct. 1861
	Alla Bux	"	"	Mylsee	17th June 1858
	Koodrutoola	"	"	Shoojabad	25th Dec. 1863
105	Golam Russool	Weaver	"	Mooltan	4th Feb. 1859
	Khumeesa	Kunjur	"	Lodhran	15th April 1850
	Eeda	Weaver	"	Mooltan	16th June 1860
	Mahomed Bux	"	"	"	15th April 1861
	Alli	"	"	"	23rd Nov. 1855
110	Wabid Bux	Carpenter	"	"	18th May 1861
	Walli Mahomed	Weaver	"	"	21st Jan. 1860
	Abdoolla	Reshum Phera	"	"	12th June 1857
	Alla Rukha	Weaver	"	"	22nd March 1858
	Kadir Bux	"	"	"	3rd May 1860
115	Kadir Bux	Rufoogur	"	"	4th Nov. 1863
	Futtoo	Weaver	"	"	18th April 1861
	Bukshan	"	"	"	21st May 1859
	Sharoo	Dyer	"	"	16th Oct. 1858
	Golam Kadir	Weaver	"	"	20th Dec. 1860
120	Mahomed Bux	"	"	"	24th April 1855
	Kurrum	"	"	"	29th Nov. 1857
	Abdoolla	"	"	"	25th Oct. 1860
	Jooma	"	"	"	3rd June 1859
	Guffoor	"	"	"	17th April 1861
125	Golam	"	"	"	14th Sept. 1862
	Golam Kadir	"	"	"	12th Feb. 1860
	Mahomed Bux	"	"	"	19th July 1858
	Kadir Bux	"	"	"	25th Dec. 1856
	Allayar	"	"	"	21st June 1861
130	Khumeesa	"	"	"	28th March 1867
	Boola	"	"	"	4th Feb. 1860
	Shurreef	Dyer	"	"	19th June 1855
	Golam Moortza	Fuller	"	"	18th April 1859
	Allah Bux	Weaver	"	"	27th Dec. 1861
135	Hyder	Fuller	"	"	29th Feb. 1860
	Dhullah Mull	Meenakar	"	"	25th Oct. 1862
	Roshun Mull	Goldsmith	"	"	13th June 1850
138	Wulloo Mull	Meenakar	"	"	15th Oct. 1866

APPENDIX II.—*continued.*

Number.	Name.	Occupation.	Localities.		Date.
			From	To	
	Pursotum Mull	Meenakar	Bhawulpore	Mooltan	13th Jan. 1859
140	Wassoo	"	"	"	18th Aug. 1863
	Muttra	"	"	"	15th July 1863
	Assa Mull	"	"	"	8th Dec. 1862
	Gurdhun	"	"	"	12th Feb. 1855
	Khooshie	"	"	"	15th Oct. 1860
145	Khooshie	"	"	"	4th June 1860
	Koodun Mull	Goldsmith	"	"	15th March 1861
	Pyara	"	"	"	19th May 1858
	Munga	Meenakar	"	"	20th Oct. 1860
	Khewa	Goldsmith	"	Moozuffergurh	17th Feb. 1861
150	Beeroo Mull	"	"	Hyatpore	19th Oct. 1855
	Wussoo	"	"	Lodhran	17th April 1859
	Korrora	"	"	"	20th May 1860
	Moolie	Meenakar	"	Mooltan	24th Oct. 1861
	Dhunnoo Mull	"	"	Lodhran	29th Nov. 1859
155	Looreenda	"	"	Mooltan	15th March 1855
	Alla Bux	Shopkeeper	"	Kat Lodhran	20th June 1855
	Kalla	"	"	Lodhran	18th March 1861
	Bunjoo	"	"	Mooltan	27th Nov. 1858
	Moola	"	"	"	25th Aug. 1863
160	Narain Mull	"	"	Lodhran	17th Feb. 1861
	Korra	Weaver	"	"	27th March 1862
	Sewa	"	"	"	4th April 1860
	Kadoo	Carpenter	"	Mooltan	15th June 1855
	Khoda Bux	Weaver	"	"	20th March 1859
165	Rumzan	"	"	"	17th Oct. 1860
	Alla Bux	Labourer	"	Shoojabad	26th June 1861
	Alla Bux	Weaver	"	Mooltan	23rd Oct. 1860
	Mahomed	Carpenter	"	"	24th Aug. 1862
	Abdool Kureem	"	"	"	17th Oct. 1860
170	Jewun Ram	Service	"	"	25th July 1858
	Rumzan	Dyer	"	"	24th June 1860
	Alla Bux	Fuller	"	Lodhran	15th July 1862
	Kallan	Beldar	"	"	20th Dec. 1860
	Pulla	Labourer	"	Mooltan	15th Oct. 1859
175	Mahomed Yar	Dyer	"	"	27th Sept. 1858
	Khumeesa	"	"	"	25th June 1865
	Luteef	Carpenter	"	"	29th April 1857
	Hyat	"	"	"	21st May 1860
	Allao	Weaver	"	"	14th March 1861
180	Alla Bux	"	"	"	24th June 1858
	Bakir	Kootanah	"	"	17th Feb. 1862
	Mahomed	Weavor	"	"	18th Jan. 1860
	Jewun	"	"	"	20th June 1858
	Hafiz	Kuteek	"	Lodhran	24th Feb. 1861
185	Kurreema	"	"	Sukker	28th March 1860
	Abdool Guffoor	Weaver	"	Mooltan	25th July 1859
	Ahmud	Kuteek	"	Soojabad	18th Dec. 1855
	Khallan	"	"	"	14th Jan. 1860
	Walloo	"	"	Mooltan	19th Oct. 1862
190	Moojawar	"	"	Sukker	15th Dec. 1860
	Buksham	Mochie	"	Mooltan	14th July 1858
	Akil	Kuteek	"	Soojabad	8th Feb. 1861
	Alla Bux	Saddler	"	Mooltan	10th June 1861
	Golam Nubbee	Mochie	"	"	15th Feb. 1858
195	Noor	Mochie	"	Shoojabad	17th July 1857
	Soohara	Suraj	"	Mooltan	20th Dec. 1859
	Khyrun	"	"	"	25th Oct. 1861
	Alli	Dyer	"	"	19th Jan. 1852
	Moosa	"	"	"	27th July 1860
200	Nuthoo	Weaver	"	"	24th June 1861
	Hukeem	"	"	"	13th Feb. 1863
	Golam Kadir	"	"	"	27th Aug. 1856
	Alla Bux	"	"	"	14th Oct. 1858
	Oomaid Allie	"	"	"	17th June 1859
205	Khooda Yar	"	"	"	27th Dec. 1860
	Jewun	"	"	"	13th Nov. 1862
	Pyara	"	"	"	10th July 1855
	Golam Kadir	"	"	"	14th Jan. 1857
	Golam Hussun	"	"	"	19th Sept. 1860
210	Rumzan	"	"	"	18th Feb. 1858
	Goordhun	Shopkeeper	"	Shahjanabad	14th June 1857
	Nuadoo	"	"	Mooltan	15th July 1859

APPENDIX II.—*continued.*

Number.	Name.	Occupation.	Localities. From	Localities. To	Date.
	Mujnoo	Shopkeeper	Bhawulpore	Sorut	18th Aug. 1852
	Wullaya	"	"	Mooltan	" 1854
215	Bhori Mull	Service	"	"	17th July 1862
	Thakuria	Shopkeeper	"	"	18th Feb. 1860
	Dhunoo Mull	"	"	"	14th Aug. 1856
	Thao Mull	Hulwai	"	Lodhran	17th June 1861
	Nyamta Mull	"	"	"	18th Dec. 1862
220	Tala Ram	Surraf	"	"	15th June 1850
	Budda Mull	Shopkeeper	"	"	18th Dec. 1862
	Issur Mull	"	"	"	15th March 1863
	Ludha	"	"	"	18th Sept. 1864
	Pyara Mull	"	"	Mooltan	9th July 1851
225	Sooba Mull	Service	"	"	17th Aug. 1857
	Chuttoo	Pokhur	"	"	19th Oct. 1862
	Oodha	Shopkeeper	"	"	18th Sept. 1860
	Koodun	"	"	"	20th June 1855
	Girdharee	"	"	"	18th Aug. 1860
230	Lukhoo Mull	"	"	Lodhran	17th Oct. 1863
	Budhawa	Service	"	Mooltan	18th Dec. 1861
	Jessa	Surraf	"	"	20th July 1862
	Futtoo	Dullal	"	"	24th Dec. 1851
	Sonoo Mull	Moohussil	"	"	18th July 1864
235	Hukoonut	Shopkeeper	"	"	15th June 1849
	Wassoo Mull	"	"	Moozuffergurh	19th Oct. 1852
	Assoo and Looreonda	Dullals	"	Mooltan	18th Jan. 1854
	Minkua Mull	"	"	"	12th Aug. 1855
	Lalla	Shopkeeper	"	"	20th Sept. 1855
240	Dullah Lall	Pundit	"	"	18th Aug. 1865
	Nyamta	Jotshee	"	"	17th Oct. 1865
	Khooshie	Shopkeeper	"	"	20th Feb. 1862
	Jubua and Tekoo	Shopkeepers	"	"	25th June 1858
	Phirai Lall	"	"	Lodhran	7th Aug. 1866
245	Soonoo	"	"	"	18th Dec. 1863
	Sadhoo	Beggar	"	"	14th Nov. 1861
	Tapun Lall	Hukkeem	"	Mooltan	25th Feb. 1863
	Jenemi Lall	Jotshee	"	"	18th Sept. 1862
	Rukha	Shopkeeper	"	Mylsee	24th Oct. 1857
250	Mohun Mull	Labourer	"	"	18th July 1861
	Kishna	Surraf	"	Mooltan	24th Dec. 1861
	Kina Mull	Shopkeeper	"	"	18th Jan. 1861
	Lukkoo	Labourer	"	"	15th June 1859
	Dewa	"	"	"	23rd March 1864
255	Jessa	Dyer, silk	"	"	29th April 1856
	Rukkha	Surraf	"	"	24th May 1859
	Kunia Mull	Labourer	"	"	23rd June 1862
	Kunia Mull	Puttolee	"	Kenore	29th Feb. 1859
	Wallaya	Lace maker	"	Mooltan	25th July 1861
260	Moolla Mull	Reshum Phera	"	"	19th Aug. 1865
	Jhangir Mull	Labourer	"	"	29th April 1861
	Topun	"	"	"	13th March 1863
	Gungoo Lall	Jotshee	"	"	29th Oct. 1862
	Moorlie Lall	Hukeem	"	Shoojabad	24th Jan. 1862
265	Tikun	Dullal	"	Mooltan	25th July 1857
	Topun	Reshum Phera	"	Dooniapore	15th June 1857
	Gopalla	Dullal	"	Mooltan	29th Dec. 1864
	Kullian Dass	Shopkeeper	"	Shikerpore	17th Jan. 1847
	Tarroo Sing	"	"	Sukker	18th June 1847
270	Loorinda Ram	"	"	Shikerpore	25th March 1838
	Tejbhaun	"	"	Bokhara	18th Dec. 1855
	Tikkun Mull	"	"	D. G. Khan	25th July 1852
	Beeru Mull	"	"	Shahjanabad	18th Sept. 1852
	Dasi Ram	"	"	Sukker	14th April 1855
275	Lalla Mull	Hulwai	"	Adamwaha	12th Oct. 1865
	Bukshan	Cultivator	Banki	Lodhran	11th Dec. 1856
	Khyrun	"	"	"	" 1856
	Kurrma	"	"	Mylsee	15th July 1862
	Jewna	"	Gamoca	"	17th Nov. 1852
280	Azeem	Weaver	"	"	15th June 1856
	Karra	Cultivator	"	"	18th Sept. 1862
	Khamba	Meerasee	"	"	29th Oct. 1862
	Imamoo	Cultivator	"	"	14th Feb. 1856
	Noor	"	Issamatne	"	18th March 1862
285	Huzoori and Aya	Shopkeeper	"	"	9th Dec. 1864
	Sonoo	"	Bhawulpore	"	6th Jan. 1861

APPENDIX II.—*continued.*

Number.	Name.	Occupation.	Localities. From	Localities. To	Date.
	Nanoo	Shopkeeper	Bhawulpore	Mylsee	18th Oct. 1861
	Ahmud Bux	Weaver	"	Lodhran	20th June 1859
	Kumal	Cultivator	"	"	10th April 1859
290	Joomma	Mochie	"	Mylsee	8th Jan. 1859
	Hussun Allie	Cultivator	"	"	5th Aug. 1857
	Bukshan	"	"	"	7th Nov. 1857
	Jewun	"	"	"	4th June 1863
	Rumzan	"	"	"	3rd June 1864
295	Ghunoo	Shopkeeper	"	Lodhran	4th Jan. 1859
	Goolamo	Camel man	"	Shoojabad	4th Nov. 1867
	Meerun	"	"	"	15th Oct. 1867
	Jewaya	"	"	Mylsee	15th July 1857
	Thungi	"	"	Shoojabad	29th Feb. 1862
300	Summoo	"	"	"	15th Oct. 1857
	Jummoo	"	"	"	10th Feb. 1860
	Peerun	"	"	"	8th July 1857
	Rumoo	"	"	Mylsee	6th Dec. 1857
	Khyroo	Kombhar	"	"	18th Aug. 1857
305	Jindoo	"	"	"	20th Sept. 1856
	Noor	Labourer	"	Roshum Shah	14th July 1857
	Golam Hussun	Cultivator	"	Lodhran	15th June 1856
	Hussun Bux	Dyer	Khyrpore	Mylsee	Left Khyrpore 7 years ago.
	Illahie Bux	"	"	"	Do. 6 do.
310	Bukshu	"	"	"	Do. 5 do.
	Mahomed	"	"	"	Do. 3 do.
	Kadir Bux	"	"	"	Do. 10 do.
	Allah Bux	"	"	"	Do. 3 do.
	Issa	"	"	"	
315	Shahooddeen	"	"	"	Do. 6 do.
	Rummoo	"	"	"	Do. 12 do.
	Boorhan	"	"	"	Do. 12 do.
	Mahomed	"	"	"	Do. 13 do.
	Abdoolla	"	"	"	Do. 13 do.
320	Peer Bux	"	"	Khoad Ahmedpore Assur.	Do. 5 do.
	Khodad Bux	"	"	"	Do. 5 do.
	Mahomed	"	"	"	Do. 10 do.
	Ahmud Allie	"	"	"	Do. 10 do.
	Hussun	"	"	"	Do. 10 do.
325	Mahomed	"	"	Seetpore	Do. 3 do.
	Doolla	"	"	"	Do. 3 do.
	Nubbee Bux	Washerman	"	Lodhran	Do. 2 do.
	Oomaida	Cultivator	Mobarakpore	"	Do. 1 do.
	Kurrun	"	"	"	Do. 15 days ago.
330	Ahmud	"	"	"	Do. 2 years ago.
	Khyroo	Camel man	"	"	Do. 4 do.
	Yarun	Cultivator	"	"	Do. 1 year ago.
	Peerun	Brickmaker	"	"	Do. 5 months ago.
	Soohara	Mochie	"	"	Do. 1 year ago.
335	Joomma	Cultivator	"	"	Do. 5 years ago.
	Khumeesa	"	"	"	Do. 2 do.
	Pulla	"	"	"	Do. 2 months ago.
	Rukha	"	"	"	Do. 15 years ago.
	Bukshun	"	"	"	Do. 15 do.
340	Peerun	"	"	"	Do. 5 do.
	Gamun	"	"	"	Do. 3 do.
	Hajee	"	"	"	Do. 1 year ago.
	Mitha	"	"	"	Do. 4 years ago.
	Soba	"	"	"	Do. 3 do.
345	Mehrwan	Weaver	"	"	Do. 5 do.
	Golam Hyder	Cultivator	"	"	Do. 5 do.
	Rumzan	"	"	"	Do. 6 do.
	Yarun	"	"	"	Do. 7 do.
	Khoda Bux	Pottor (kombhar).	"	"	
350	Noor	Cultivator	"		Do. 6 do.

(Signed) C. MINCHIN, Captain Poltl. Supdt. of Bhawulpore.

APPENDIX III.

Copy of Extract from a Memorandum on the Dera Ghazee Khan District.

To sum up briefly, the irrigation works carried out in the district during the past four years at the joint expense of Zemindars and the Government are as follows:—

1st.—The Mussoowah, at the sole cost of projector, Musoo Khan Nootkani, at a cost of Rs. 26,000.

2nd.—The Dhoondie, at the joint expense of Government and the Zemindars, at a cost of Rs. 80,000.

3rd.—The Fazilwale and Dhori, at the sole cost of the projectors, Fuzil Allee Khan Loond and Secunder Khan Cosa, at an estimated cost of Rs. 18,000.

4th.—The Noor, by the Zemindars, at a cost of Rs. 6,000.

5th.—The extension of the Manka at a cost of not less than Rs. 65,000, of which Rs. 29,270 were paid by Government.

6th.—The Gamul branch of the Kadra Canal, on which the Zemindars have paid Rs. 28,000.

7th.—Branch canals from the Kaatule, at a cost of about Rs. 6,000.

On these works the capital expended by the chiefs and principal Zemindars of the district cannot be less than Rs. 1,50,000. Of other irrigation works the principal are the damming up the mouth of the Shoree Hill stream and making supply channels to irrigate the waste lands in front of Kim, which was completed this last year by the Muzari Chief, Emam Bux Khan, with the assistance of his tribe, of account of which Government has sanctioned the rent-free grant on the lands irrigated by this work for a term of 20 years, and the improvements of the several mouths and channels of the Gawaz, Norwah, Nye Shumalle, and Nowa Shahur branches of the Kabo Nullah in the Dajul Tehsil, at a cost of not less than Rs. 8,000, under the superintendence of Tehsildar Chummon Mull, to whom these works are entirely due.

(True Extract)

(Signed) C. Minchin, Captain, Poltl. Supdt. of Bhawulpore.

APPENDIX IV.

Statement submitted by Assistant Superintendent Moorad Shah.

All classes, both Mohomedans and Hindoos, are much happier under British than the Native rulers for the following reasons:—

1st.—Under Mahomedan rulers Hindoos are prevented from following out their religious rites; are often forcibly converted and circumcised, whether converted or not; and such acts are wantonly committed as are most obnoxious to their religious feelings, taking away their temples, destroying their Sonkhs, killing bullocks near their Dhurmsallas, &c. Under the Sikh rule Mahomedans were not allowed to call the faithful to prayers. If any Mahomedan was caught killing a bullock secretly in the jungles, he was burnt alive; if done in a village, it was at once plundered and burnt. Under British rule both Hindoos and Mahomedans carry on their religious rites undisturbed. In Mooltan the Eedgah was seized by the Sikh and Hindoo Singh's Regiment put up in it; at the commencement of the British rule it was used as a kutcherry, but it was restored to the Mahomedans at Mr. Ford's application, and no gift could have ensured greater happiness and contentment. At the Eed thousands of Mahomedans assembled to bless the British rule for this signal instance of its liberality.

2nd.—Under the old Mahomedan rulers, Jhung Kote, Kumalia, and Derajat, and Mooltan were subject to continual inroads from the Sikhs, who harassed the whole country. No one dared cultivate the lands for fear of the crops being destroyed and their cattle carried off. Under British rule all is peace, and Zemindars are able to enjoy the fruits of their industry.

3rd.—The Government order prohibiting the keeping of arms has had the happiest effect in putting a stop to the disorders which were formerly so prevalent in those parts, where the following tribes residing in the Bar lived almost solely by plunder, so that no man's life or property was safe, viz., Kalias, Kumahanas, Sirganahs, Wuttoos, Ali Khanas, Bhirwanalis, Sinpats, Seals Supras, Baboo Jowannas Wainiwals, Kurrals, Truggers, Lungrials, Saholis, Harrajes. At Bhawulpore in the present day murders are of frequent occurrence; in British territory, however, all such raids have been efficiently suppressed.

4th.—A few of the Mahomedan tribes and a large number of Hindoos, chiefly of the Khatree castes, were in the habit of destroying their female children at birth on account of the great expense attending marriages and their pride in considering no one worthy of mating with them. This has been noticed by the Government, and repeated efforts made to put a stop to it with the greatest success, so that, whereas these classes had become nearly extinct, they have now become populous, and the men of their families saved from a life of vice.

5th.—Under both Mahomedan and Sikh rulers the poorer Zemindars are much oppressed. The richer seized the lands of the poor classes, and if a complaint was made to the rulers, a handsome nuzzur soon confirmed the rich oppressor in his possession.

Under Sawun Mull the village of Shukroo, in the Mooltan District, was ultimately given to the Sirganah or Hurraj without reference to proprietary rights according to the amount of nuzzur either party presented to the Dewan. Under British rule nuzzuranas have been prohibited, and each person is maintained in possession of his own property.

6th.—Under Native rulers, in addition to the demand on the land, the following imposts were established:—Subzi mundi zekat, rahdaree, chelyek, mohars, chubootra, &c., so that the unfortunate proprietors had but little left to them from produce of their estates; their estates were heavily mortgaged in consequence: they are now freed from all these imposts; their estates are lightly assessed, and cultivation has increased.

7th.—The Bhawulpore State was a standing contrast, and the Zemindars residing in the neighbourhood could congratulate themselves on the exemption they enjoyed. Under Native rule the Zemindars were attacked both in property and reputation; every handsome virgin was at once sent for to the harem, and should the Nawab be pleased with her, she was retained, but if not, she was allowed to return to her home. It is this custom which swelled the numbers of women confined in the harem of Ahmedpore and Dillawur. The exactions of Nawab's servants, horse-keepers, bullock-drivers, and kunjkees were so great that hundreds of Zemindars, abandoning their possessions, sought safety and protection in British territory.

8th.—Again, under Native rulers, merchants and traders suffer great hardships; they are stopped at every town and village, their goods are opened and examined, and they have to pay large sums for zekat (customs), rahdaree (transit dues), chubootra (town dues), goozar (ferry dues), &c., from nearly all of which they are exempt under British rule, and they can go from one end of the Empire to the other without molestation and their goods protected by the Police.

9th.—Lastly, under Native rulers, whenever lands are required for public purposes, they are seized and no compensation awarded, whereas under British rule the compensation amply remunerates them for their property.

(Signed) C. MINCHIN, Captain, Poltl. Supdt. of Bhawulpore.

From W. G. PEDDER, Esq., Superintendent, Revenue Survey and Assessment, Kandeish, to the UNDER SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department, Simla.—(No. 234, dated Malligaum, August 16, 1867.)

IN reply to your confidential letter, dated Simla, 1st July 1867, I have the honour to submit the following report.

2. The points at issue are two,—1st, whether the people are really more prosperous under British than under Native rule; 2nd, whether they consider themselves to be so, *i.e.*, are happier. I will consider these points with reference to —I. taxation; II. security of person and property; III. administration of civil and criminal justice in the provinces with which I have some acquaintance, viz., Guzerat and Kandeish. I must premise that the Native governments with which I contrast British administration are those of the Mahratta Powers, the Peshwa, Scindia, Holkar, or the Gaekwar, to which our rule succeeded, and which are probably the only alternative to it in the Bombay Presidency.

3. Having been employed for many years in Guzerat on special duties connected with the settlement of the land revenue, and of the various titles to land in that province, I have had peculiar opportunities for making myself acquainted with the early records of all the Guzerat Collectorates. In particular I have read a great number of documents prepared soon after the introduction of British rule, in which is recorded all the information which the old Patels could then supply regarding the history of their villages. Many of these papers are very interesting, and give the village annals from the end of the 17th century. The quotations in this letter, where not otherwise noted, are from the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone's Report on the territories conquered from the Peshwa, written in 1821.

4. I.—*Taxation.*—There can be no doubt whatever that the weight of taxation generally was much greater under the Mahratta than under the British Government. It is said that the revenue derived by the different Mahratta Governments at the end of the 18th century from the Deccan, Khandeish, and Guzerat amounted to 25,000,000*l.*, or one-fifth more than the whole land revenue of British India. Yet the country was unquestionably much poorer than it now is. In 15 districts of the province of Kandeish, the cultivated area in 1818, the first year of British rule, was little more than four lakhs of acres. It now exceeds 13 lakhs. The Mahratta theory of land assessment, indeed, was that half the gross produce belonged to the State.

5. Not only were the demands of the Mahratta Government heavy, but they were uncertain, varying from year to year, and composed of many different items, and were often nearly equalled by additional illicit exactions. The Deccan cultivator was doubtless the best off under Mahratta rule, as his government was a Native one, and his district, before the introduction of the farming system, was managed by a salaried official who had an interest in its prosperity from the long period for which he was allowed to hold it. Yet, under these most favourable circumstances, the ordinary assessment he had to pay was composed of the following items:—Sirdeshmookhi Chout and Jagheer Chout, divided into Babtee and Mokassa, Mokassa into Ein and Schotra. This gives, says Mr. Elphinstone, "but an imperfect idea of the "numerous sub-divisions which have been made in most parts of the country. "Some were assigned to jagheerdars; but when they all fell into the hands of "Government, it kept them up in name, and even in practice. One man would "collect Sirdeshmookhi, another Jagheer, a third Mokassa, a fourth Babtee, a fifth "Schotra, in the same village. Where there was a defalcation, each endeavoured "to collect his own and throw his loss on his neighbour, and a general struggle "ensued, in which the ryots were sure to suffer." The regular land tax was composed of these items; but, in addition, the cultivator had to pay those included in the "Sewai jumma," such as house tax cesses, taxes on animals, &c., and also an extra assessment, "Sadur-Warid Pattee," "the grand source of the Mamlutdar's "profit, levied to pay expenses not provided for by Government, one of the chief of "which was called 'Untust,' and was originally applied secretly to bribe the ministers. By degrees these bribes became established fees; but as bribes were still "required, another increase of collections took place for this purpose; and as the "auditors did not search minutely into these delicate transactions, the Mamlutdar "collected much more for himself than for his patrons." In years when the harvest was particularly good, or when an extraordinary emergency occurred, an extra cess, "Yek-Sali Pattee," was imposed, and frequently not taken off when the occasion for it had passed away. Besides all this, the cultivators had to pay direct "Huks" to village and district officers, often heavy in amount. The mode of realizing these demands was simple. "If a ryot refused to pay, the Sebundy confined him, exposed "him to the sun, put a heavy stone on his head, and prevented his eating and drinking "till he paid."

6. All these evils were much aggravated under the farming system. "The office of "Mamlutdar, instead of being conferred as a favour on a person of experience and "probity, was put up to auction for one year among the Peshwa's attendants. "The Mamlutdar, thus constituted, had no time for inquiry, and no motive for "forbearance; he let his district out at an enhanced rate to under-farmers, who "repeated the operation till it reached the Patels. If one of these officers farmed "his own village, he became absolute master of everyone in it. No complaints "were listened to. If the Patels refused to farm the village at the rate proposed" (I have seen in old Guzerat records instances of their being compelled to do so by torture), "the case was worse, as the Mamlutdar's own officer undertook to levy the "sum determined on, with less knowledge and less mercy than the Patel. In "either case the actual state of the cultivation was disregarded; a man's means of "payment, not the land he occupied, was the scale on which he was assessed. No "moderation was shown in levying the sum fixed; every pretext for fine and "forfeiture, every means of vigour and confiscation, were employed to squeeze the "utmost out of the people before the arrival of the day when the Mamlutdar was "to give up his charge. Amidst all this violence, a regular account, of course "fictitious, was prepared. When the time came for the Mamlutdar to make up his "accounts, his exactions were most severely felt, for he had a certain sum to make "up, and if the collections fell short he portioned out the balance among the "exhausted villages, and left the Patels to extort it on whatever pretence and by "whatever means they thought proper."

7. The above relates only to the land revenue. The non-agricultural classes were equally heavily taxed. They had to pay house-tax, shop-tax, taxes on domestic animals, mohturfa or licence-tax on trades, licence-tax for marriages, for the right to beat drums on festivals, on weights and measures, &c.; also zekat or customs (a great check to trade, as it was levied separately in every district through which the goods passed), nuzzur or succession duty, a tax of 12 per cent. on sales of animals, kotwalee or town duties, including a tax of 17 per cent. on the sale of houses, &c. That

these taxes were not light is shown by the fact that, in the province of Ahmedabad the produce of them nearly equalled the land revenue.

8. If this was the state of taxation in the Deccan, it was much worse in Guzerat, where the people, in race and language, were foreign to their Mahratta rulers, where the farming system was introduced earlier and more systematically than in the Deccan, and where districts were portioned out between the Moguls, the Peshwa, the Gaekwar, and Scindia, which Powers were continually at war, so that a single village was often called on to pay revenue to two or more at once. In mowass and talookdari districts, those in which the land belonged to Rajpoot or Kolee Chiefs, the revenue was only collected by sending round a moolukgiri army while the crops were standing; and as the chiefs made resistance a point of honour, the collection of the Government demands was annually attended with bloodshed and wide devastation, the result being that the most powerful chiefs paid little, the weaker were crushed by the exaction. In crown districts the revenue settlement of Akbar, and the proprietary rights based on it, almost entirely disappeared; the constitution of most of the joint village communities, and the distinction between proprietary and non-proprietary cultivators, was destroyed; many villages relapsed into the bhagbottai or metagar system; but the benefits of that system were completely neutralized by the practice of imposing arbitrary cesses in addition to the Government share of produce, the worst of which, "Jasti-Vero," was meant to secure to the farmer of revenue the profits of an exceptionally good harvest. In other villages, the revenue system was that of crop or of caste rates, also supplemented by cesses; and in many, all these systems prevailed at once, so that no cultivator could have any idea of what he ought to pay. I may give two examples of the way in which the Guzerat peasantry were rack-rented under Mahratta rule. The assessment of a village near Ahmedabad, which, when it passed into the hands of the Gaekwar, was paying 80*l.* per annum, was raised in a single generation, during which it was repeatedly burnt and deserted to 600*l.*, when it was finally abandoned. And while Scindia held Broach during the last quarter of the 18th century, he farmed the district for a short term to an hereditary officer, whose exactions were so oppressive that the people proved he had raised in four years nearly 80,000*l.* more than the sum for which he had contracted, including the stipulated percentage for expenses of management. Scindia in this fined him 80,000*l.* which sum was not, however, returned to the defrauded cultivators, and deprived him of his farm, which was immediately undertaken at an enhanced rate by a Surat banker. This revenue system, together with the incessant wars and total absence of security, resulted in destructive famines, to alleviate which nothing, so far as I know, was done by the Mahratta Governments, and one of which, that of A. D. 1803, so completely depopulated the once thriving province of Kandeish that there are still large waste tracts, now uninhabitable from malaria, but full of the ruins of what were once flourishing villages.

9. It is hardly necessary to compare the British revenue system with that above described. Now, the non-agricultural classes pay no direct taxes whatever, except the recently imposed licence tax, and the indirect taxes which they pay in common with the agriculturists, the salt duty, customs, and excise, &c., are unquestionably infinitely lighter than the imposts of the Mahratta Government. The land revenue is now of the nature of a rentcharge; it probably averages less than one-seventh the gross produce, and in some districts is less than that. Under the Bombay survey system, it is regulated entirely by the value of the land; it is fixed for 30 years, and cannot be raised against the holder at the expiry of that period on account of any improvements he has made; all imposts whatever, including "Huks" of villages and district officers, are consolidated with the land assessment; the mode of realization in case of default is simply by sale of the land, and every peasant has his receipt book, in which the extent and assessment of his holding are entered, so that illicit exactions are nearly impossible; while, in Guzerat at least, the rights of superior holders, whether landlords, such as talookdars, or joint village communities, are carefully upheld.

10. I have never heard from any cultivator any question of the infinite superiority of the British over the Native system of land revenue. There is nothing that the Bombay ryot thinks of such consequence as the consolidation of all imposts into one assessment on the land. So much is this the case, that I have been repeatedly asked to do away with the merely nominal distinction between Local Fund and Imperial

Revenue (the former being one anna to every Rupee of assessment, but assessed and levied in precisely the same way), merely because the people thought it of more consequence to preserve the principle of a single assessment than to have the advantage of claiming that a portion of their assessment should be expended upon local improvements.

11. The only objections I have heard to the Bombay revenue system have been from landlords, such as Inamdars, and from traders; the former, because they find that the advantages enjoyed by Government cultivators have a tendency to reduce their rentals; the latter, because they think that the income tax and now the licence tax have been rendered necessary by the moderation of our land assessment, and that good government consists in providing for all the expenses of the State out of the land revenue.

12. On the whole, I am convinced, not only that our revenue system is infinitely superior to that of the Mahrattas, but that the people generally feel that it is so.

13. II.—Security, or otherwise, of property in the soil, must, in a country like India, be one of the points on which the happiness of the people is most affected by the Government. By the Bombay settlement an indefeasible hereditable transferable right of property is given to every occupant of Government land, subject only to payment of the assessment, and that the people value this is shown by the common phrase, "the Sircar has given us all its land in miras." Now, in Guzerat, though a certain proprietary right of the cultivator in crown lands was of very ancient date, was apparently more or less acknowledged by the Mahomedan Kings, and was confirmed and even extended by the settlement of Akbar, yet I cannot find that the Mahratta Governments respected it in any way, or that they treated any Government cultivator as otherwise than a tenant-at-will, and the same was the case in Kandeish. But in the Deccan, though much land was cultivated by "Ooprees," or tenants-at-will, yet a large proportion was held as miras, or hereditable and transferable property. This mirasi right was much prized by the people, and "no "species of property was so much respected by the "Government;" still, though "the tax on miras land "was fixed, the Mahrattee Government loaded it with "other impositions, who reduced that advantage to a mere name, and took "advantage of the attachment of a mirasdar to his land to make him pay considerably "more than an Oopree."

Report of Captain Grant, Political Agent at Sattara in 1819.

14. The most unpopular measure of the British Government has probably been the appointment of the Bombay Commission of inquiry into the title to alienated land. But the Mahratta Governments, though they seem generally to have avoided nominal resumptions, had no scruple whatever in appropriating the profits of alienated lands by the imposition, under the plea of necessity, of such taxes as "Duleah Puttee," "Inam Tijavee," &c., and often permanently. An instance of this is a fine village which was granted about the end of the 15th century by one of the Sultans of Ahmedabad for the support of a Mahomedan shrine. The Mahratta Governor of Ahmedabad demanded a quit-rent from the holder of this village, who refused it, pleading that the original grant was free of assessment. The Mahratta admitted this, but immediately imposed, under the name of cesses, an assessment upon the cultivators at least as heavy as that upon neighbouring government villages, so that the landlord, nominally holding his village free of assessment, really derived little or no income from it; such cases were numerous. It must, however, be allowed that the great unpopularity of the Inam Commission arose from its claiming to act upon principles of justice, but which no Native would allow to be just.

15. It is easy to admit, as Natives freely do, that British rule has given greater security of person and property; but few persons can now realize what was the state of things to which it succeeded. It is not too much to say that in this respect the present condition of Guzerat and Kandeish differs as much from the condition of those provinces in the 18th century (expressively called by the Guzerat peasantry the time of the Guneems or plunderers), as that of the England of Queen Victoria from the England of Stephen.

16. The following facts will illustrate this statement:—

1st.—A very numerous class in Guzerat are the Kolees, who, though they are fond of claiming a Rajpoot descent, and though some of their chiefs are really half-bred Rajpoots, are not of Hindoo blood, but are descendants of the aboriginal tribes who inhabited the province before

the Aryan conquest. They have, however, long adopted, at least in great part, the Hindoo religion and manners. By no class are the benefits of British rule more clearly shown. Fifty years ago the Kolees were a restless, turbulent race, defiant of authority, despising agriculture, living by plunder, and famous throughout India for the skill and daring of their predatory exploits, of which strange tales are still told. The names by which they were known denoted their habits. They called themselves "Shumsher Bahadoor," and were designated by others "Dharola," or armed people—a name which they still retain. They have now universally settled down in peaceful husbandmen, some of whose villages, in comfort and skilful cultivation, may vie with those of Koonbies; open resistance to authority is unknown, and even petty robberies are comparatively rare. I have spent nine years in every part of Guzerat without a guard, and have never had my house or tent robbed. In a civil case, a few years ago, it appeared that a cart, containing valuables, worth about 1,000*l.* was insured between Ahmedabad and Patree, a road which passes through a district of Kolies, who used to bear the worst reputation for a few upees. The insurer, an old banker, was asked for what he would have insured it 50 years ago, and replied, not for half its value; he must have sent 100 armed men with it.

There is an interesting account of the state of the Guzerat Kolees in Bishop Heber's Journal.

2nd.—The Rajpoot Chiefs, who mostly resided on the frontiers, made a regular practice of levying black mail (called Tora Girass, whence these chiefs are called Girassias) to such an extent that in many districts not a single village was exempt from the imposition. If it was not regularly paid, the village was burnt and the Patels carried off to be held to ransom. Two or three years after the cession of Surat, a village within a mile of the British cantonment was burnt for this reason by a Rajpoot Chief, who escaped to the hills, carrying off the Patels, who had to be ransomed by Government after being tortured. The black mail has long been commuted into pensions paid by Government to the chiefs; and Rajpoot incursions have for many years been as much unknown as are highland forage in the lowlands of Scotland. But a curious illustration of the old state of things exists in the "Paleeyor," or tombstones so numerous in Guzerat villages, which were erected to commemorate peasants who fell in defence of their homes.

3rd.—Besides the sufferings of the province from robber tribes, every petty chief and every village during the 18th century waged war with their neighbours at discretion; boundary disputes, which have now been peacefully arranged, being the commonest cause.

4th.—The coasts of Guzerat and the Konkan suffered dreadfully during the 18th century from the ravages of pirates. On one occasion all the women of a Brahmin town were carried off by Mahomedan pirates, who not only violated them, which perhaps was not thought of so great consequence, but deprived them of caste by forcing beef into their mouths. During 1857–58, I heard a story that the inhabitants of a coast village were talking over the war, and some of the younger men expressed a wish for the success of the rebellion. An aged Patel, pointing to a lofty palm on the seashore, said, "I re- "member when a man always sat in that tree to give warning of the "approach of pirates, and once or twice a year we had to fly inland "with our cattle and property. You have never seen a pirate, and I "recommend you to pray for the Sirkar."

5th.—In Kandeish, the Bheels or aboriginal tribes, sallying from their fastnesses in the hills, committed great ravages upon the villages of the plains. The policy of the Mahrattas towards these people was cruel in the extreme. A common punishment for a Bheel, whose only crime perhaps was his being a Bheel, was to be tied to a red-hot gun. Numbers of them, with their wives and children, betrayed by treachery, after being flogged or mutilated by the amputation of their noses, ears, and the breasts of the women, were thrown down preci-

pices or into dry wells. They of course retaliated when they could by similar atrocities. The Bheels are now perfectly peaceful, and many of them live in the plains as cultivators of Government land or agricultural labourers.

6th.—Kandeish is full of dismantled hill forts. These were supposed to curb the hill tribes, but during Mahratta rule they were occupied by Arabs and other mercenary troops, who laid the whole country under contribution and committed great atrocities.

17. The Natives in these provinces are quite willing to admit the fact of their living far more securely under British than under Mahratta rule. But the generation which felt the miseries of Mahratta misgovernment has passed away, and I think the tradition of it is growing faint among them. Perhaps the words of Gibbon, regarding the Kingdom of Theodoric in Italy, may be applied to them.* They are apt to complain of our police system, and, notwithstanding the great results which it has effected, not perhaps altogether without reason. They accuse the police of inefficiency in detecting crime, of corruption, and, to some extent at least, of oppression. They forget, however, that, if the police is bad, it is chiefly because good Native material for it is so difficult to procure, and that the fault lies in great measure with themselves. They are so timid, that respectable people will not communicate what they know to the authorities; and so false, that, if the latter seek for information regarding the police, they are deluged with groundless accusations, often directed against the very men who are trying to do their duty, because they carry out sanitary or other measures, which happen to be unpopular.

* "These ungrateful subjects could never be reconciled to the origin, the religion, or even the virtues of the Gothic conqueror; past calamities were forgotten, and the sense or suspicion of injuries was rendered more exquisite by the present felicity of the times."

18. III.—It is very difficult to give any description of the administration of civil and criminal justice under the Mahrattas, because in Guzerat at least no fixed system could be said to exist. The following sketch, therefore, refers to the Deccan, and it will be understood that whatever were the evils of the system in that province, they were exaggerated in Kandeish and Guzerat:—

"The power of administering criminal justice was vested in the Revenue Officers, and varied with their rank—from the Patel who could imprison for a few days, to the Sirsoobhadar, who had power of life and death. The right of inflicting punishment, however, was very undefined; one Patel would flog and fine and put in the stocks for many weeks, another would not venture even to imprison. Most Mamlutdars would hang a low caste robber without a reference; a chief had full authority over his troops and servants. There was no prescribed form of trial; a Bheel, caught in a part of the country where Bheels were plundering, would be hanged immediately. In doubtful cases the chief authority would order some of the people about him to inquire into the affair. The prisoner was examined, and if suspicions were strong, was flogged, to make him confess; even in common criminal trials no law seems ever to have been referred to. The only rule was the custom of the country, and the Magistrate's notion of expediency; great abuses are said to have at all times existed. Criminals found refuge in one district when chased out of another; some jagheerdars made a trade of harbouring robbers; false accusations were made a cloak for exactions; any offender could purchase his release, if he had money enough to pay for it; and Mamlutdars would sometimes release even Bheel robbers and allow them to resume their depredations on payment of a sum of money." Punishments were regulated more by the caste or influence of the offender than by the nature of his crime; "and the commonest was fine and confiscation, to which the Mamlutdar was so much prompted by avarice, that it was difficult to say whether it was inflicted as a regular punishment or made use of as a means of gaining wealth."

19. Notwithstanding the obvious evils of a system so lax and corrupt as that here described, Mr. Elphinstone says that crime *in the Mahratta country proper* was rarer than might be supposed.

20. The Mahratta system of civil justice is described as follows:—

"The authorities by whom civil justice was administered were the Patel, the Mamlutdar, and Sirsoobadar, and, above all, the Peshwa jagheerdars administered justice in their own lands with little or no interference from Government. In some large towns was a Judicial Officer. If a complaint was made to a Patel, he would send for the person complained of and interfere, partly as a friend, to settle the mode of payment of the debt. If it was disputed, he assembled a punchayet, who

inquired into the matter, with the consent of the parties, with very little form, and decided as they thought best; or the complainant went to the Mamlutdar, who proceeded nearly as the Patel, but who could compel the defendant to submit to a punchayet. There was no regular appeal; the superior authority would not revise the decision of the inferior, unless in cases of gross injustice or corruption; in cases of less purity, that is, in almost all cases, the superior was influenced in receiving the appeal by the consideration of the profit promised. The members of the punchayet received no fee, but when they had much trouble, the winner made them openly a present. A sum of money was levied for Government from the winner and from the loser; one-fourth of the property is put down as the price paid for justice by the plaintiff when he wins. When a matter had come to a trial, it was expected that Government should enforce the decision, but with the irregularity characteristic of the Mahrattas, the plaintiff was often permitted to enforce it himself. This system in the best of times was very imperfect. There was no regular administration of justice, no certain means of filing a suit, no fixed procedure. It rested with the officer applied to to receive, or neglect, a complaint. There can be little doubt of the difficulty of getting justice, except by means of bribery or of powerful friends. The punchayets themselves were open to corruption or partiality, and had not sufficient powers. No decision was final, and there was as much difficulty in being exempt from an unjust revision as in obtaining a just one. Under the farming system things were worse; justice was openly sold. The party in the wrong could always, by a bribe, prevent the cause going to a punchayet, or upset the decision of one. The Government afforded little justice to the rich and none to the poor; yet the system had some advantages to counterbalance its obvious defects, most of which originated in one fact, that the Government, though it did little to obtain justice for the people, left them the means of procuring it for themselves. The advantage of this was particularly felt among the lower orders, who are most apt to be neglected under all governments. By means of the punchayet they were enabled to effect a tolerable dispensation of justice among themselves. The intimate acquaintance of the members of the punchayets with the subject in dispute made their decisions frequently correct, and it was an advantage of incalculable value that the Judges, being drawn from the body of the people, could act on no principles that were not generally understood. The inertness of Government was counteracted by various expedients which, objectionable in themselves, supplied the place of better principles. These were private redress, patronage, and presents."

21. It would seem absurd to make any comparison between a system so lax and corrupt as that above described, and our pure, systematic, and impartial, administration of civil and criminal justice. Yet I feel bound to say that, so far as my observation goes, the Courts are the most unpopular branch of our administration, not indeed among the educated or mercantile town population, but among the great mass of the peasantry. Some years ago the Gaekwar introduced, as a reform, a Civil Procedure Code founded upon ours in his territories in Guzerat, on which a Patel in one of his villages remarked that his subjects were going to be deprived of the solitary advantage they had over the "Sirkar's ryots," that of having no Civil Courts.

22. This feeling is not, I think, caused by any doubt of the purity, justice, or independence of the Courts; on the contrary, the people value them highly as a safeguard against any oppression on the part of the administrative officers of Government. It arises, I believe, chiefly from the following causes.

23. As regards Civil Justice—

1st.—Though the nominal interest on debts was very high under Mahratta rule, yet the debtor had a good chance of escaping payment altogether, and might be pretty sure of being able to free himself by a reasonable compromise. The establishment of the British Civil Courts gave creditors, mostly of the mercantile classes, prompt and effectual means of enforcing their claims against the peasantry, who had contracted the debts under very different circumstances. Partly from an economical cause (the fall in the value of produce which succeeded the introduction of British rule), but in very great measure from the action of the Civil Courts, the whole of the peasantry of this Presidency were for nearly two generations crushed under a load of debt. They attributed their calamities entirely to British administration, and the Mahratta proverb, "the pest of Courts," shows their feeling.

2nd.—Since, of late years, the rise of prices, and an equitable and moderate revenue settlement, have enabled the peasantry generally to throw off their debts, this feeling has become traditional rather than based on an existing state of things. And in important cases, involving considerable amounts, the people are, I think, quite satisfied with the Civil Courts. But they complain bitterly of the difficulty, expense, and trouble required to get redress in petty cases, now that their own punchayet system has sunk into disuse. One sees this very much in settlement work. In a country of peasant proprietors there are numerous petty disputes about land, mostly presenting no difficulty, but beyond the competency of a Revenue Court; yet, attached as the people are to their rights in land, they often, perhaps generally, prefer to sit down under an injustice rather than apply to a Civil Court.

The best remedy for this, in my humble opinion, would be an extension of the system of Small Cause Courts.

24. One of the objections made to our system of criminal justice is the many chances of escape which it affords to criminals. But the chief cause of its unpopularity is the inconvenience which it inflicts upon prosecutors and witnesses. The people have little public spirit, and, at the best, are apt to think it hard that a man must leave his occupation, and perhaps incur enmity, to give evidence in a case which does not concern him. This feeling is intensely aggravated where, as in a province like Kandeish, with an area of 15,000 square miles, prosecutor, prisoner, and witnesses, have perhaps to travel 300 or 400 miles in a single case, and it is of no small importance where it unites the whole population in opposition to the administration of justice. I should like to see the sessions held, instead of at the sudder station, quarterly or half-yearly at all the chief towns of the province. Prisoners, it is true, would thus have to wait longer for a sentence, but much inconvenience would be saved to prosecutors and witnesses.

25. I have hitherto compared British rule with that only to which it succeeded. Perhaps I should contrast it with the only existing Native State with which I am acquainted—that of Baroda. Never having held a political appointment, I do not know much of the administrative system of the Gaekwar's government, but I have travelled much in his territories, and conversed freely with many of his subjects.

26. The impression I have formed is, that although the Gaekwar's administration (chiefly owing, it must be said, to the example and admonitions of the British Government) is probably better than that of the Peshwa's dominions under Nana Furnavees, and is certainly infinitely superior to that under Bajee Rao, though he himself is an intelligent Prince, and several of his ministers able and enlightened men, though his people complain little, and his Government generally is perhaps better than that of most Native States, yet the people of the adjoining British territory are better governed and more prosperous, and that they are fully aware of it.

27. In the first place taxation is far heavier in the Gaekwar's than in British territory. Petlaud, a Kaira district, was equally divided between the Peshwa and the Gaekwar, the share of the former afterwards falling to the British Government. I have been told, I believe correctly, that the revenue of the Gaekwar's share is nearly treble that of the British share. I have found the same difference between the rates of assessment in force in Gaekwar villages and those imposed by the settlement in neighbouring Government villages. There are also many imposts besides the regular land assessment, which fall on both the agricultural and non-agricultural classes. Taxation is also uncertain, the assessment not being fixed for any period, and being regulated more according to the means of the cultivator than to the value of land. I believe, however, that the Gaekwar's government is making some efforts to put the assessment on a more equitable footing. The system of farming the revenue is still in force in the greater portion of the Baroda State, and the frequent and troublesome outbreaks in the Gaekwar's territory in Kattywar are said to be chiefly owing to the oppressive measures of the farmers. The administration of justice is capricious, and punishments, though uncertain and easily evaded by criminals of wealth or influence, are cruel. "Don't think," said a Native gentleman to me of a criminal whom the Gaekwar had sentenced to imprisonment, "that the Baroda Jail is like that at Ahmedabad; one year in the Gaekwar's jail is much worse than seven in the Sirkar's." The people certainly believe, truly or not, that corruption is rife in all departments of the State, and acts of what we should consider downright oppression on the part of the Government, are not uncommon. I have heard that

two or three years ago the chief men of a fine Gaekwar village were imprisoned, and the village fined Rs. 40,000, because a courtezan, a favourite of the Gaekwar's, was insulted there.

28. I certainly think that the people of our territories in Guzerat consider themselves fortunate in not being subjects of the Gaekwar. The Guzerat Koonbies are a remarkably sturdy, independent race, and will often wrangle for days over a slight increase made in the revision of their assessment. In such cases I have often asked them if they would like their village exchanged for one of the Gaekwar's, and have always had the same answer, "anything but that." Any measures which they do not like they commonly describe as "like Gaekwar zoolum." It has been stated in the House of Commons that emigration from a foreign State into British territory is hardly known. Throughout the greater portion of the Guzerat Collectorates the land is so fully occupied that there is no room for new settlers; but in two or three of the northern districts, where there was much waste, cultivation doubled itself within a few years of the introduction of the survey settlement, and this was in very great measure due to immigration from the Gaekwar's country.

29. I have said nothing in this report of such measures as popular education, sanitary reform, and improvement of the means of communication, which were never dreamt of under a Native Government.

30. Perhaps the best test of what is the popular feeling towards our rule is to be found in what the Native papers say of us. Liberty of the press has been so long established, and is so fully understood, that I am quite sure that there is no reticence on the subject of British administration in the vernacular papers, and it is certainly the fashion among educated Natives here to assail the Government and its officers—a fashion which arises partly from our personal unpopularity with them, partly from a sincere desire to improve the administration and to reform abuses; yet complaints against British rule are not numerous, and are generally of a very trivial nature, while those against the administration of Native States are constant and more serious. I have just been looking through a file of recent vernacular papers. I find in these two complaints regarding British rule,—one insisting on the hardship of people having to serve as assessors in the Courts, the other a personal attack on an officer for assaulting some coolies. There are ten or twelve complaints affecting Native states. One chief is accused of imposing a special income tax of 25 per cent. on all his people on the occasion of his daughter's marriage, and others of different acts of oppression, or of generally corrupt administration.

31. On the whole, I think the following to be a tolerably fair account of the feeling of the Natives towards British rule in the provinces with which I am acquainted:—

The principles of our Government and, in a lesser degree, our administration, are generally approved by all classes.

We are tolerably popular among the agricultural and mercantile classes, which form the bulk of the population.

Our rule is now unpopular with the poorer town population, who suffer from the high prices which have benefited the country generally, and which they ascribe to the action of Government.

We are personally intensely unpopular with the higher, and especially with the educated, classes.

From LIEUT.-COLONEL W. W. ANDERSON, Acting Political Agent, Kattywar, to the UNDER-SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department.—(Dated Rajkote, August 12, 1867.)

YOUR confidential communication to the address of Lieutenant Colonel Keatinge reached this office after the departure of that officer on leave to Europe. I nevertheless forwarded a copy of it to him by the following mail, and he may most probably address you himself on the subject.

2. As His Excellency the Viceroy would seem anxious to have any statements on the subject of your letter, which the experience of Political Officers may enable them to furnish, and as I have, as you are aware, spent the last twelve years of my service as such in this province, I venture to offer the following remarks.

3. Kattywar, from its isolated position, and having only a very small portion of its territory bordering on the British district, has not been so well able to observe the benefits of our rule as countries more fortunately situated.

4. Divided, as it is, moreover, into so many, and in some cases petty, principalities, it is difficult to procure statistics for the purposes required. With the exception of attachments imposed on States for various causes, which, by enabling us occasionally to have an improved management, and thus show the benefits of our rule, there are none I conceive bearing on the case that would be of material use, with the exception perhaps of the following.

5. By late orders of Government, the Rajpoot States of Rajkote and Limree, with annual revenues of about five lakhs collectively, have been placed under British management, and here, although the time has been but short, it has been clearly shown that our rule is far more palatable to the mass of the population than the former Native rule. The abolition of forced labour monopolies and other vexatious taxes alone has given the people such relief that order and contentment now exists where formerly discontent and general complaint was the rule.

6. Again, the young Thakhoor of Veerpore, a Rajpoot, has had his State attached for a term of seven years, and placed under the direct management of the Agency, consequent on his complicity with Wagher outlaws. The revenues were but small, but now cultivators are flocking in and taking holdings, being assured of protection and of obtaining equitable ratings, and that the new management will be one of mildness and justice.

7. In the same way, from experience I feel convinced that, as a rule, the working classes and the general mass of the Native population prefer British rule. The numberless complaints which in former years came before this Agency, and in which endeavours were made, where we consistently could do so, to induce the Chiefs to give redress, clearly prove this. In almost every case, the harshness of Native rule as compared with our own was freely commented on, and not unfrequently urgent request for us to take the management into our own hands openly made. Even of late years, since the concentration of power in the hands of the chiefs, this has been apparent. This measure, though doubtless one of policy and strict justice, has not tended to produce in my estimation that improvement in the interior management of States generally which we had reason to suppose it would. Cases of extreme hardship, subversion of agreements and arrangements entered into, frequently come before us, all of which go far to show that Native rule has by no means those attractions for all classes of the people which the late Secretary of State would appear to have been led to think it had.

I think, therefore, there can but be one opinion on this subject, and that the views which His Excellency the Viceroy holds are correct, and will be fully borne out from the information which he will receive from other sources.

From MAJOR C. F. PRESCOTT, Superintendent, Revenue Survey and Settlement in Guzerat, Acting Commissioner of Survey and Settlement, N.D. to the UNDER SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA Foreign Department.—(Dated Poona, August 15th, 1867.)

In the absence of Colonel Francis, I have the honour of replying to your confidential Circular of the 1st of July regarding the general feeling of the Natives of this country towards British rule, and the comparisons they draw between it and Native Government.

I will, with your permission, premise by saying, that, so far as my experience goes the feelings of the rich and the poor, of the landed proprietors and the commercial classes, of the Mussulmans and Hindoos, on the subject, are very different.

There cannot be a shadow of a shade of doubt that the masses are in every respect more prosperous and happy in British territory than in Native States; but I doubt very much whether the rising generation (which has never experienced the bitter oppression of former days) really think so.

Even in the most prosperous districts where the people are contented, happy, well-fed, well-clothed, and with all the evidence of plenty around them, they are apt to attribute whatever is evil to the *raj*, and whatever is good, not to the *raj*, but to the *dhurm*. Any rise in prices is the fault of the *raj*; any scarcity, the same; any new taxation is not for the good of the people and the country, but only the means resorted to, to satisfy the greed of England for India's wealth.

It is the ignorance of the simplest economic and political doctrines which is their stumbling block. How can we really judge the feelings of a people who have not even the capacity to understand what the end of good government is, *e.g.*, a short time ago the Nawab of Cambay prohibited the export of grain from his territories, thinking by this means to bring down prices. All the poor people in our adjoining territory applauded the measure as a fine stroke of policy, and expressed surprise that our Government allowed a free export of grain during the whole of the season of high prices. I think, however, this feeling was confined to the low Mussulman population which seems to have no visible means of gaining a living. The agriculturists naturally enough accepted the high prices with great complaisance.

I must observe, with very great deference to Sir George Clerk and Lord Cranborne, that whether Native rule is preferred generally to British or not, my experience goes to prove that, if the poorer classes of agriculturists in the Native States under this Presidency could be made to believe *in the stability of our raj*, all who could would forsake their homes and come into our districts.

A very short time ago numbers of the Gaekwar's subjects went to the Mamlutdee of the Chicklee district of the Surat Collectorate (from the neighbouring Gaekwaree district of Gundavee) and begged to be allowed to settle there. I was there at the time, and they told me the oppression of their *raj* was unbearable. So determined were they to settle in our districts that a karbaree of the Gaekwar's was sent to reason with them and offer them terms, and it was after very considerable negotiation only that they were induced to return. The whole of British Guzerat is interlaced with Gaekwaree territory, and I have had every opportunity of mixing freely with His Highness's subjects. The people are for ever hoping and praying that some turn of fortune may bring them directly under British rule, and I hear daily complaints of oppression, unjust assessments, intriguing karbarees, and injustice of all kinds.

Those who do not know this country naturally inquire why, if there is this feeling, the people do not come to us whenever they can get a bit of land to cultivate; but those who *do* know India are well aware of the *wrench* it requires to separate a cultivator from his home, his village, his dearly-loved ancestral lands. What is oppression to him compared to the pain of seeing his fields in the hands of a stranger? The old mother says, dig up the bit of money that lies buried, and pay the exorbitant assessment; but never give up your land except with your life. The wife says, sell all we have, but don't leave your home.

The survey settlement of this Presidency has conferred on the ryots a vast property in land, and given them a security of tenure they *know* they never would have obtained under Native rule. They, therefore, to a man, love our *raj;* and it is a significant fact that, in all the Gaekwar's districts adjoining our territory, *a revenue survey* on our principle has been introduced, and is in progress, His Highness being thoroughly convinced of the prosperity and happiness of our ryots under that system, and fearing that a migration of his cultivators on a large scale into British districts is imminent.

In conclusion, I may relate (as an illustration of the discussions which are continually going on amongst the people as to the why and wherefore of certain acts of the British Government) a conversation I myself overheard between two respectable Thakoors on the subject of the Disarming Act. Said one, What does the *Sirkar* mean by disarming respectable people? Will it make us more faithful, or like the *raj* better? To this the other replied, Oh! it is not because they are afraid of us, or mistrust us, it is only because they want the *iron* to make railroads. Look (said he) that hundreds of miles of rails they are laying down, and if they don't collect and melt down all the arms they can get hold of, where is all this *iron* to come from?

From SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, K.C.S.I., Resident Hyderabad, to the UNDER SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT of INDIA, Foreign Department.—(Dated August 16, 1867.)

I HAVE the pleasure to reply to your letter of the 1st ultimo, touching certain opinions stated in Parliament by Lord Cranborne, regarding the relative popularity and superiority of British and Native rule in India.

Now to estimate the *popularity* of any sort of rule is to gauge public opinion. To do this in a country like India is difficult, because the people are not inclined to outward manifestation, because they are never inclined to tell us point blank what they really think, and because they are seldom well qualified to offer sound conclusions on any large or complex question not coming under their immediate cognizance. I clearly recollect the late Mr. Thomason (then Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces) once explaining to me the perplexing and conflicting replies he used to receive, even from the best informed Natives, on such general questions as the growth or the decline of the country in prosperity, and the like. He exclaimed once, "How little weight can be attached to opinions of individuals among the Natives on such subjects." I should, therefore, apprehend difficulty in *proving* any conclusion I might have on the popularity of British rule in India. I could only declare the impressions left on the mind by my own experience, and narrate such indications as may have been observable. And I fear that facts and statistics, in the strict sense, would not be available in regard to this point.

To estimate the *superiority* of British rule is a much more feasible task. But here also many moral considerations would enter in not easy of specific proof. There would, however, also be material and physical considerations on which facts and statistics could forcibly be brought to bear.

After this brief preface I shall touch on each of the above branches of the subject.

As regards the popularity of British rule, I certainly believe that it is vastly preferred to Native rule by the mass (though not the whole) of the people.

I recollect in 1851–52 being employed as Settlement Officer in the Jullundur Doab, to arrange an exchange of a number of villages (for rectification of frontier) with the Kupoorthulla Rajah. On that occasion the people of our villages that had to go over to the Rajah stoutly objected. And after the transfer had been accomplished, my recollection is that they still made their voices heard.

From 1853 up to 1860 I had various means of knowing the sentiments of the people of Cashmere. In a hundred ways I understood that the Cashmere people lamented the severance of their country from the Punjab, and its incorporation in the Jummoo State; that they felt the enviable condition of the Punjabees under British rule as compared with their own; that numbers were desiring to emigrate from Cashmere into British territory, so much so, that the Native Government was obliged to adopt stringent measures to prevent emigration; and that there was some degree of popular reproach against the British Government for having made over Cashmere to Goolab Singh. The flourishing condition of the colonies of Cashmere weavers at Umritsur, Jelalpore, and other places, is probably in some part attributable to immigrants and recruits from Cashmere itself. By the above remarks I mean no reflection on the policy whereby Cashmere was made over to an allied power, nor any aspersion on the Maharajah of that country. I merely allege that the people in that case entertained a much greater liking for British than for Native rule.

In 1864 I had to arrange for some extensive exchanges between British Nimar and the State of Maharajah Holkar. The Nimar people protested verbally in every mode and form against being transferred away from British rule. Those of the upper classes would take every opportunity of urging this.* The villagers would surround me as I marched, crying out and gesticulating in oriental fashion to give strength to their protest. This is the most salient demonstrable instance that has ever come to my notice of the greater popularity of British rule as compared with Native.

From 1863 to 1867, in the Central Provinces, it came to my notice that for many years, that is since about 1820, there had been great immigration from Berar west of the River Wurdah into the Nagpore country east of that river,—Berar being under the Nizam, and scarcely at all affected by British interference, and Nagpore being under a Bhonsla sovereign with the British Resident as regent during a long minority. This immigration must have been very considerable, year by year, causing appreciable increase of cultivation and habitation in the Nagpore country.

* One particular case was perhaps laughable. One day a chief was complaining, in a slightly unbecoming tone, that British Officers came to hunt, and caused trouble to himself and his servants. I asked him if he would like to be transferred to Holkar as there was a proposition to that effect. Instantly his manner changed. Afterwards he came and entreated to remain under us, saying that if this could be only conceded to him, he would afford every accommodation to sportsmen; that the gentlemen would be most welcome, &c., &c.

It ceased in 1854–55 when Berar became assigned to the British Government And in succeeding years there has been a strong reflux of the tide of immigration, the Berar families settled in Nagpore returning fast to their original province. Hundreds of individual farmers or tenants, and scores of agriculturist families, have left the Nagpore villages to reclaim their old lands in Berar, causing great inconvenience to the Nagpore landowners, not only in particular villages, but in whole circles of villages. Over and over again, in reply to inquiries about this counter-immigration, have the people said that they crossed over to Nagpore because it was virtually British, and that they are going to cross back again into Berar because it is now under British management. This broad fact will be found adverted to in the fiscal and settlement reports of that part of the Central Provinces. It seems to be a strong indication of the attachment of the people to British rule.

Since 1862–3, I have been acquainted with the territory on the left bank of the Godavery, transferred by the Nizam to the British. I have always understood from the people thus newly transferred that they much preferred our management to that which they had left. Indeed this is partly shown by the rapid improvement on the British side the river in some slight degree owing to immigration from the Nizam's side, notwithstanding the great improvements of late years in the interior management of the Deccan.

In 1863 I first knew Sumbulpore, and have since been acquainted with it. That was a territory recently brought under our management. At first the people did not seem to like our rule at all better than the old system. But as soon as certain political complications were got rid of, and the people tasted of proprietary rights in land, and of assured fiscal settlements, they felt a decided preference for our plan over any other they had ever known. Among the proofs of this may be cited the extraordinary advance which that rural district has made in education largely sustained by efforts of the people themselves.

I have not much personal acquaintance with the Raichore and Dharaseo districts, which were assigned by the Nizam to our Government, and after remaining under our management for several years, were retransferred to His Highness' government. But I certainly have understood, from Officers in a position to know, that the people much regretted the retransfer, and were full of apprehension. Such I believe was the fact at the time, though they have since not had any cause to lament, for the Nizam's civil government in that quarter has been well conducted.

I have, since 1862, known of eminent cases where British authority being planted on a piece of ground in the midst of Native dominion has caused a new population to cluster round it and monied and commercial interests to nestle, as it were, under its protection. Some forty years ago, Kamptee (near Nagpore) was a little village, utterly unknown; it became the station of a British force in the heart of Mahratta territory; of course regimental bazaars and markets sprung up; but these expanded into a town which has now 60,000 inhabitants, receives annually nearly a million sterling worth of imported goods and produce, and is the most effectively rich and prosperous place in all the Central Provinces. Now I have repeatedly understood on enquiry that the foundation of all this prosperity was immigration from the surrounding Native dominions. The fort and bazaar of Seetabuldee were ceded by the Bhonslas to the British some 50 years ago; since then Seetabuldee has grown into a large town, full of artizans and monied bankers, the fundamental cause being the same as above. The same thing has occurred at Hyderabad. The ground of Secunderabad (the Military Cantonment) and of Chudderghaut (the British Residency) has for half a century been under British protection; before which period, both these places were non-existent. They have now an aggregate population of 70,000 souls. Their import trade alone must have a declared annual value of a million sterling; next after Hyderabad itself, they are the richest places in all the Deccan. This has happened under the British flag right alongside of the Nizam's capital. It is largely (though not entirely) owing to the preference of Natives for British management.

These several instances seem to tell in favour of the superior popularity of British rule.* But in order that the argument may not be one-sided, some instances may be specified which do *not* point in this direction.

In 1850 I was employed in the Allahabad district, on the frontier of the Rajah

* I have not attempted to draw any illustrations from Oude, past and present, because you will have such excellent information at hand respecting this.

of Rewah. In that tract, at that time, our rule was not more popular than that of the Rajah. The British villages had from various causes not been successfully managed. From 1854 to 1860 I had particular knowledge of the protected Sikh States, Cis-Sutlej. These are intertwined and interlaced among British districts supposed to be administered in our very best method. Yet I never knew any immigration from those States to our districts. The villages of the Puttiala and Jheend States especially were among the finest and happiest I have ever known, and seemed to be on a par with the choicest pieces of British territory. From 1863 to 1867 I have been acquainted with the British districts on the frontiers of the Native States of Bundelcund, of Sindhia, and Bhopal; and have never observed that the people preferred our management over that of the Native States. Indeed several tracts in that quarter had been unsuccessfully managed by the British, though we may hope that this has of late years been retrieved. I have recently observed evidence in the old Hyderabad records, that after 1819, when the Peshwah's dominions in the Deccan were brought under British rule, our revenue settlements were in some districts not successful, and did not compare favourably with some of the Nizam's districts. This again was reversed; the British settlements were amended; and I find some British Residents at Hyderabad reporting that the adjoining districts of the Bombay Presidency afforded, in their wealth and contentment, the best possible model to the Nizam's Government. In 1864 I passed through the Baroda territory (the Gaekwar's dominions); certainly that district, the valley of the Mhye, is in external prosperity hardly surpassed by any British district that I have ever seen at least. In the Deccan, of late years, the constitution, system, and principles of the Nizam's civil government are really excellent; this much is certain. That the result must be more or less beneficial to the country is hardly to be doubted. Whether full effect is given to the intentions of His Higness's Government, throughout the Deccan, I cannot yet say; but independent testimony is constantly reaching me to the effect of great improvement being perceptible. Judging from the published reports, I should suppose that the Native administration in Travancore must be excellent. I believe, too, that the administration of the Gwalior country, when under the Minister Dinkur Rao, afforded a fair example of what Native rule can accomplish, and that it still continues good under the Maharajah Sindhia. I have, on the whole, a favourable opinion of the administration of the Nagpore country by the Mahratta sovereigns of the Bhonsla house. There were many excellent points about their rule; but some of these were owing to the care of British Officers such as Sir R. Jenkins, Colonel Wilkinson, and others. Other detached instances might doubtless be mentioned.

Further, in justice to Native rule, it should be said that, within the century of our supremacy, there have not only been good sovereigns, who are too well known to require mention here, but also good Ministers, really capital administrators, who have adorned the service to which they belong; such are Purneah of Mysore and Tantia Jogh of Indore in the past, and Sir Salar Jung of Hyderabad, Sir Dinkur Rao of Gwalior, Sir T. Madava Rao of Travancore, in the present.*

These cases are adduced merely by way of giving my testimony on both sides of the large question which has been put. So far as they go, they seem to indicate that in many, perhaps the majority of cases, British rule is preferred by the people to Native. But this preference immediately ceases when, in any particular district, British administration falls into error, or declines below its generally high average. And certainly there are Native States, though of limited sphere, where the practical result comes out nearly as well as in the best British districts.

In this place it will be proper to state most briefly my opinion as to which are the classes among the people of India who prefer, rightly or wrongly, British to Native rule, and which are the classes who prefer Native to British rule.

Those classes who prefer British to Native rule or supremacy are, I believe, the following:—

Firstly, the independent Native Sovereigns and Princes; this is proved by their conduct in 1857 and 1858. Next after our own national prowess, one of the main causes that carried British power through that crisis was the personal adhesion of such Princes as the Nizam of the Deccan, the Maharajah of Cashmere, the Maharajah of Puttiala, the Rajah of Jheend, the Maharajah Sindia, the Begum of Bhopal,

* It must be observed, however, that both Sir Salar Jung and Sir T. Madava Rao owe very much to the training they received from British Officers.

the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Rajah of Rewa; one or two of the Rajpootana Rajahs, and others. The services rendered by them personally at that time to the British cause were simply priceless. All this is ultimately attributable to their particular preference for our supremacy. They had but too much reason to anticipate our downfall; many influential sections of their own followers were bitterly opposed to us. If they themselves had hated us, if they had really wished to be rid of us, it is not to be supposed but that some of them would have turned against us. It was because they feared the consequences of our departure, because they thought themselves gainers by our presence rather than our absence, that they held to us.

In our own territories the larger merchants and bankers, the monied and capitalist class generally, do, on the whole, prefer our rule as being the safer and steadier; though no doubt they get on very well under Native rule too. Some of the richest Native bankers and merchants are to be found at Jeypore in Rajpootana, at Indore in Malwa, at Hyderabad in the Deccan, all these places being of course under Native rule. Still these very men do, I believe, prefer British supremacy. So also in our own territories, the smaller merchants, bankers, traders, carriers, do greatly prefer our rule to any other they have ever known. Indeed it is sometimes urged, as a reproach to British rule, that either undue favour is shown, or else that undue advantages accrue to the last-named classes; however unfair such a reproach may be, still its existence shows that the prosperity of these people is a subject of notoriety and envy.

The great agricultural class in our own territories, on the whole, and with certain and occasional exceptions, decidedly and undoubtedly prefer our rule to any other. By this class are meant the members of the well-known village communities of all Northern India, the village proprietors of all Central India, and the ryots of all Southern and Western India; the ryots last named being under the ryotwaree system, much like what are called peasant proprietors in Europe. To demonstrate this broad and important proposition would require more space than can now be afforded. I should rest the proof, firstly, on the virtual or declared recognition of a proprietary title in the land over and above the possession of the same—a recognition not so fully known under Native rule as British, and greatly prized by the people; secondly, on the limitation of the State demand for lengthened periods, this limitation being much more perfectly observed under British rule than Native; thirdly, on the fact of agriculture generally (though not universally) under British rule surpassing that under Native; fourthly, on the conduct of this class during the crisis of 1857 and 1858 having been (with many large and some notable exceptions) either friendly towards us or or else passive. Had they, as a mass, disliked us, and and had they turned against us, the remnant of a chance which we had at that time would have been cut off.* Further, the tenant or cultivator class (in some provinces called ryots, but inferior in status to the ryots of Southern or Western India) prefer our rule to any other. Here again the British Government has sometimes been reproached with being even too attentive to this class; unfair as such reproach may be, it tends to corroborate the notion that this class must be in a state of notorious contentment.

Some of the greater landholders, such as the Zemindars of Bengal Proper, also prefer our rule immeasurably to any other. But this preference is probably not shared by all the larger landholders throughout India, to which point I will advert further presently.

The intellectual class, fast rising into consequence, do, I believe, on the whole prefer our rule to any other. This class is in the main created by the educational efforts of the British. Their sentiments can be known from the Native Press, conducted either in the English or the Oriental languages, and in these times multiplying

* There were doubtless many grave exceptions in Oudh, in the Doab of Hindoostan, and in other places. Some of the exceptions, however, will be found more apparent than real. The Goojur villages all round Delhi rose in May 1857, not for rebellion, but for plunder; the predatory instinct being ineradicable in that tribe. I learnt on the best authority that in Rohilcund it was the Mahomedan landholders who rose, and not the Hindoo. The Hindoos, after suffering much at the hands of the Mahomedans during the interregnum which followed, sincerely rejoiced at the restoration of British authority. It has been said that the landholders in Hindoostan seized the opportunity of the disturbance to set fire to the records of the survey and settlement, in token of their dislike of those measures. This I believe to be quite a mistake. These records did indeed often perish in the general conflagration of all public offices; this was the work not of the landholders but of the incendiary mob. On the contrary, it is the fact that, though these records were burned, duplicates were for the most part forthcoming afterwards, having been preserved in the villages.

so rapidly. Certainly this class is not blinded by any partiality for us; on the contrary, they criticise us even more narrowly and severely than our own English Press does; often indeed their criticism is captious and one-sided. Still in spite of all this they frequently, perhaps generally, evince an appreciation of the good points in our rule and of all the philanthropic efforts that are put forth; and I for one should certainly infer that, however much they may cavil and carp at us, they would by no means wish to change us.

I will now mention the classes who are doubtless opposed to our rule, some of whom are necessarily our enemies, not open to any conciliation that we could reasonably use.

First of these is the priestly class, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan, throughout India. Many indeed among the Hindoo priesthood are satisfied with the State endowments assured to them by the British Government, and even appreciate the religious toleration they enjoy. But they must feel that, if British rule endures, their gradual decline, perhaps even their ultimate downfall, is only a question of time. They cannot but mark the change in the religious opinion of their countrymen caused by the national education introduced by the British. It were vain for us to flatter ourselves that the influence of this powerful class throughout India is not thrown into the scale against our popularity. Not to go too far back, I have known, even within the last five peaceful years, instances occurring, on the average about once every two or three months, of seditious or treasonable productions, in all probability emanating from, or traceable to the Brahmin priesthood. This hostility is even stronger in the Mahomedan priesthood; with them it literally burns with an undying flame; from what I know of Delhi in 1857–58, from what I am authentically informed of in respect to Hyderabad at that time, I believe that not more fiercely does the tiger hunger for his prey than does the Mussulman fanatic throughout India thirst for the blood of the white infidel. All this may be very sad, but it is no use disguising a fact which is inevitable.

Next may be noted the military and political class, comprising not only men of restless ambition, of violence, of intrigue adventurers, free-lances, marauders, loose characters of every description, but also many men of a better,* though still dangerous sort, who feel cooped up and cramped, shut out from all chance of advancement, deprived of any scope for expanding energy either through our supremacy or through our direct sway. The employment which the British Government affords, by maintaining so great a Native Army, though very appreciable, does by no means satiate or carry off all the martial ardour, still less all the love of excitement, peculiar to these sections of the population. This class is on the wane slowly,† but still, including Mahomedans and Hindoos, it is strong and numerous all over India, both in British territory and in Native States. It is instinctively opposed to the British and to their Native Allies. No doubt during the last crisis it must have sorely tried the temper of the loyal Native Sovereigns and Princes previously mentioned.‡

Further, we must be prepared to find enemies of more or less intensity among the lesser Native Princes and Chiefs; and even among some of the Chiefs and larger landholders in the British territories. This enmity, so far as it may exist, is probably traceable to a variety of causes, special to the circumstances of each case. In some cases it may be capable of mitigation or of removal, in other cases it may be irremoveable. There were abundant instances of it in 1857-58, and whether it can ever be quite eradicated is doubtful.

Lastly, there is the mob, the canaille, the blackguardism of the whole population. This unfortunately great class is probably not partial to any Government. But it seems to hate the British most especially. It somehow does, in a manner very humiliating to us, attain a rank growth under our very shadow, and in the heart of our largest settlements. In a moment it would swell the numbers of our assailants; and it perpetrated many, if not most, of the atrocities in 1857. Wherever, too,

* The Deccanee Brahmins in the North and South Mahratta country afforded a strong instance of this in 1857.

† It has often been observed that the Hindoostan sepoys of these times are not like those who aided at the capture of Bhurtpore under Lord Lake, nor the Madras sepoys of to-day equal to those who defended Arcot under Lord Clive.

‡ It might here be noted that the Arabs and Rohillas, foreign mercenaries, gradually introduced by successive Nizams into the Deccan, are not indeed so dangerous as they were, but still are very powerful, and might prove a source of grave inconvenience in critical times. They are, however, diminishing year by year.

there may be any considerable populace of the lower orders of Mahomedans, there we must look for a host of brutal and irreconcileable enemies. Their animosity is the more vivid from its being quite unreasoning, as it proceeds from no cause whatever, save national antipathy or political jealousy. The mob of Hyderabad in the Deccan furnishes really an awful instance of this; from all I have read and seen of it, I cannot, in a limited space, give any adequate description of such a seething, fermenting, festering mass. In 1857 it was regarded by the then Resident as most formidable both in virulence and in numbers.

Such in brief are the items of credit and debit which I would enter in the great account of our national popularity in India. If the sum be cast up on both sides, I would fain hope that there would be found a good balance in our favour. In any general concussion of our power, the influences that would spring up in array against us might be formidable enough; but the several conservative parties in the country, guided of course by our own prowess, might suffice to sustain us.

Further, in order again that my argument may not be one-sided, I would touch very briefly on the particular points where British rule is apt to be unpopular with our people, or less popular than Native rule. Our rule is known by all to be superior in system and principle. But then we are *occasionally* prone to be sharp, or harsh, or uncompromising, in execution, though we are admitted to be for the most part steady and sufficiently patient. But there is a flexibility pervading Native rule which Natives by their idiosyncracy like; and an inflexibility about our rule to which they can hardly be reconciled. They have an idea of our rule which we should express by its being too Procrustean. They look upon our procedures often as so many sledge hammers, or crushers, not to be withstood; whereas they know that a Native Government, even when bad, is seldom strong enough to annihilate by its stroke, and there is always a chance of parrying or avoiding the blow; thus the worst Native Governments sometimes possess the virtues of patience * and mildness in dealing with their subjects when they possess no other. In support hereof, Natives would probably adduce such instances as severe or strict inquiry into revenue-free privileges, (Enams, &c.); sale of estates in default of payment of land revenue; the enforcement of a fixed demand even in bad seasons, on the ground that there was no enhancement of demand in good seasons; the imprisonment of civil debtors; the sale of real property under decrees of Courts; the non-recognition of castes or class privileges in matters of law and justice; the imposition of legal penalties, incurred as much in carelessness or in thoughtlessness as from any intention to offend the law; the impartial, unbending, sometimes almost frigid and unsympathetic demeanour observed alike to all, rich and poor, gentle and simple; the prevention or prohibition of petty nuisances, measures which may be necessary enough for public health and order, but which many people regard as vexatious; the withdrawal from all attempt to amuse the senses or stimulate the imagination of the public, and many other instances. Now some of these things, of which the Natives seem inclined to complain, are not faults at all; some even are merits, while some are really faults which we should strive to amend. But in *all* of these and other cognate cases our practice is very different from, or the reverse of, the practice of Native Governments. In some instances perhaps the British Government may and will modify its course; in others it would not make any change even if it could.†

There are also one or two cardinal points wherein the British Government might, and probably will, do more than it has heretofore done, to the advantage of the country and to the increase of its own popularity. Last year there appeared a thoughtful article (the author is not known to me) in the *Calcutta Review* on the Native Press. It declared, on an analysis of the outspoken sentiments of their own

* This was one of the few redeeming qualities in Chundoo Lal, who was Minister of the Hyderabad State for 30 years, and who exemplified, unfortunately, most of the pernicious faults to which Native administrators are prone.

† I have consulted the Nizam's Minister, Sir Salar Jung, K.C.S.I., whose loyalty and ability are so well known, on the points mentioned in this paragraph. He said that he has for years heard every one of these topics of complaint urged by Natives against the British Government; and that some of these very things have been often urged by them against his own Government, whenever he has attempted reforms, especially judicial reforms. He said, too, that a Native nobleman, even when quite disposed to act justly and properly, always hates the notion of subjection to any law or rule, and enjoys the sense of being able to do just what he pleases. This sort of man instinctively chafes at the restraints of British rule; not because these are galling or hurtful, but merely because they are restraints.

Press, that the Natives did not really complain of some evils which we Europeans so often lament in our own system, such as corruption in our Police, inefficiency in our Courts of Justice, and the like; evils which the Natives know but too well to spring from themselves, and not to be attributed to us. But it classed their complaints under two main heads; first, that the British Government does not sufficiently associate in its administrative system the Native gentry and the more respectable classes; second, that the British Government does not allot to Natives an adequate share of public patronage, and does not promote them sufficiently to lucrative offices in their own country. The shortcoming in the latter respect was pronounced to be particularly dangerous, inasmuch as State education was rearing up swarms of intellectual men, whose aspirations would never be satisfied by the narrow field now open, and who would be compressed into discontent unless some expansion was afforded.* All this seemed to me to be but too true. In the first respect, progress has of late years been made by the gracious distribution of honours among Natives by the Crown, by the admission of Natives to the Legislative Councils, by their appointment as Honorary Magistrates, Municipal Commissioners, and the like. In the second respect, the admission of Natives to the Covenanted Civil Service; their appointment to the Bench of the High Courts; the raising the status of the Native Bar; the increase to the emoluments of the judicial employés, of the Police officials, of the ministerial subordinates, and the like, have done considerable good. But in both respects very much remains to be done. And it has been thought by many (and, as I believe, by the late Sir Henry Lawrence) that the increase of emoluments ought to be extended to the Native officers of the army.

A remark seems here called for, regarding the opinion of the Natives as to the conduct of the British Government in respect to religious matters. The toleration, which we both practise and enforce in favour of all creeds and sects alike, has always been, and is still, considered by the Natives to be one of the strong points in our position. The priestly classes do indeed recognise the ultimate and inevitable tendency of our moral influence and of the example afforded by our very presence; and they must dislike us accordingly. But this feeling does not extend much beyond these classes. In 1857, and for a short time previous to that date, an impression had been spreading that the British, departing from their old policy, were compassing the supersession of other creeds by their own. This was the fear that found vent in the celebrated cartridge case. Since 1857 this fear, though alive in the minds of some classes, seems to have subsided in the minds of the population at large. And I am not aware at this moment of any such apprehension generally existing.† Nevertheless, I believe, that Natives always have complained, and do still complain, however wrongly, of certain parts in the proceedings of the various Christian Missionaries. They do not mind the Missionaries having worship in churches, or teaching in schools. But they object to Missionaries preaching in public; they sometimes say that wherever there is a crowd in the streets, or a holiday meeting, or a gathering for a fair or a festival, there will be found a Missionary preaching; and this they regard as unreasonable and aggressive. And they add that the Government by allowing this, by remaining silent, and by protecting the Missionaries in their sacred calling, virtually affords encouragement.‡ However wrong these ideas may be, they are entertained by numbers among the Natives. And those who make the complaint are the more annoyed in that they cannot help reflecting that wherever a Missionary does preach there is sure to be a multitude thronging round to listen, which shows that whatever some Natives may think, there are many others

* On both these points also I have consulted Sir Salar Jung; he says that these complaints are of great importance; that he has known them repeated in a variety of forms and shapes, and that he heard them often discussed in the trouble period of 1857. He specified some of the honours and emoluments to which Natives may attain under their own rule, but from which they are debarred under British rule. He used to hear it asked, how it was that such foreign rulers as Aurungzebe, far more violent and troublesome than the British ever were, who did wrongs such as the latter had never ventured to do, did not excite such animosity as seemed to rage against the British in some quarters. He thought that the answer might partly be found in this, namely, that none of our predecessors ever were so utterly foreign to the country as we are; that, with all their faults they settled among, and amalgamated themselves with, the people, which we, with all our virtues, can never do. This he seems to think is the most insuperable of all the objections against our rule.

† Sir Salar Jung assures me that he is not aware of any such apprehensions now existing; he adds that the recent discussions about the Converts' Re-marriage Act (of which one case has occurred at Hyderabad) did not occasion remark in this part of India.

‡ Sir Salar Jung informs me that about no subject has he more often heard complaints on the part of the Natives against the British Government than about the public preaching of Missionaries.

of them who wish to hear the tidings of the Gospel. Herein, of course, the British Government will never make any change in its conduct. On the other hand, the Natives generally do not dislike, but rather like, to see the Missionaries teaching in schools. Whether it is that they are not at all afraid of their children being converted by the Missionaries I will not pronounce. But this is certain, that they are always won by the kindness, the courtesy, the patience, and the aptitude of the Missionaries for the instruction of youth. And thus it is that Missionary schools are always popular with the Natives.

In a matter such as the above, the British Government must of course do what it believes to be right, even notwithstanding that politically such conduct might detract from our popularity with the Natives. But I do not think that the proceedings and presence of the Missionaries do really weaken us politically; but that, on the contrary, we rather gain politically thereby. For without doubt, the self-denying irreproachable demeanour of the Missionaries of all denominations, the spirit of catholic charity evinced by them, produce a deep impression on the minds of Orientals, and raise our national character in the estimation of the Natives.

Superadded to all this, there is difference of race, religion, temperament, and disposition between us and them, which must tell somewhat against us in their estimation; though certainly, in many respects, both sides are mutually tolerant, we of them and they of us. With some classes of the people, the feeling of personal loyalty to the Sovereign is intense. I could recal many instances of this. Before me, now at Hyderabad in the Deccan, there is one of the strongest cases in point. The veneration felt for the person and office of the Nizam seems boundless. Though no Native Sovereigns in India can be more secluded, uninformed, and even bigoted, than the successive Nizams have been, yet even these Princes must have about them some kingly qualities, some tincture of statecraft, in order to inspire awe and maintain personal prestige as they have done. The British Government can hardly hope to command sentiments of this kind. It can never create the endless ties which bind a good Native Prince to his natural-born subjects. The State pageantries (Durbars), which have at various times been conducted by the Governor-General, have on the whole done much good; and the practice might be carried even further with advantage on the part of all British officials. Also Exhibitions of art, industry, and agriculture, produce an excellent effect morally and socially, irrespective of their material effect. On the other hand, I doubt whether the agricultural and rural classes in the interior have much, if any, sentiment of this kind. They have for ages been habituated to obey the ruler of the day; they perceive keenly enough the difference between a good ruler and a bad one, and they regard him according to his conduct rather than the prestige or traditions attached to him.

Again, the overshadowing and universal character of our rule and supremacy operates prejudicially to our popularity. While the renowned English Company was one out of many competitors in the field of conquest, while it was struggling with others for existence, it had its followers and adherents who fought under it, and clung to it faithfully. When it succeeded in one quarter after another, its adherents rejoiced that they had sided with it; all men courted it, and sought its friendship. But when that success spread, and gradually enveloped the whole Peninsula, then all men began to fear and to wonder whom the conqueror would devour next. From the day that the British Government became the acknowledged Paramount Power in India, a new kind of danger, not previously felt, came into existence. This was predicted at the time in the Metcalfe despatches and in Malcolm's reports on Central India, in language that now reads almost as if prophetic. It was never fully realized till 1857; though most formidable, it was not insurmountable, for it was, under Providence, actually surmounted.

The State education in India has caused, and is causing, among other things, a vast diffusion of geographical knowledge and to some extent of political information. In hundreds of thousands of schools the boundaries of France and of Russia, the situation of America, and the like, are being taught daily. In thousands of schools, even further instruction is afforded, wherefrom some notion, however dim, will be formed of the relative resources of the Great Powers. In the event of any future European war or complication seriously involving Great Britain, we must be prepared for the people of India having a far nicer appreciation of the crisis than they have ever before had on similar occasions. This need not necessarily tell against us; it might even tell for us; but were it to militate against us, then we

might apprehend a combination of intrigue, of influence, or of overt resistance, on the part of all the dangerous classes already described, with a rapidity and effect greater even than in former disturbances.

In justice to ourselves, it must however, be observed that at all periods there have been individual British officers of the highest position and the widest influence, who have exactly seen which tendencies in our system would prove dangerous, which peculiarities in the national character on one side would be distasteful to the Natives, and which idiosyncracies on their side would alienate them from us. And these eminent persons have always striven to apply a sedative or corrective process, and their example must have often smoothed down difficulties. Such men in the past were Shore,* Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Metcalfe; or Munro, Malcolm, and Henry Lawrence. In the present time there are of course many such, and it may be hoped that there always will be in the future.

Before quitting this part of the subject, I would just note the points which Natives most admire or wonder at in the British political character. Their respect for our physical power and energy is too obvious to need remark. But besides that, they generally recognize in our countrymen certain qualities which they believe themselves to be not possessed of, and which contribute to render us, in their estimation, almost invincible. These opinions may be summed up thus. They think, firstly, that we have an aptitude for combination, for obedience to general discipline, which in time of danger or emergency makes us all of one mind ("ek-raee," as they phrase it); secondly, that we have a spirit of enquiry, of always being on the search for matter of practical moment ("tuhqueeq-o-tufteesh," as they phrase it); thirdly, that we have a sagacious farsightedness ("doorundeshee," as they phrase it), which causes us to shape our conduct with an ultimate aim, not fully perceptible to Orientals; fourthly, that we have a heedlessness ("be-purwaee," as they phrase it) in a high sense, that is, a heedlessness of danger, labor, trouble, separation from home and family, and countless other inconveniences, whenever any important end is in view.†

I now come to the second division of the subject, namely, the superiority of British over Native rule. It must be to this that you allude when you speak of the concentration of statistics from all parts of India. Herein I would base my conclusion mainly on the demonstrable prosperity of the people.

On this head it is probably not necessary to advert to many of the most obvious features of civilization created by the presence of the English in India. Such are the barbarous customs abolished; the external order introduced; the many kinds of crimes repressed; the extraordinary system of registration of lands and tenures throughout the Peninsula, in elaboration probably not surpassed at any period or in any country; the thousands of miles of roads constructed, or of railways opened; the hundreds of miles of canals; the network of electric telegraphs; the many millions spent by the Government on Public Works; the many more millions of British capital invested in the country, and the like. These of course would never be lost sight of if any complete comparison were to be instituted; and they could not have been secured without British rule.

As to general statistics, I am not in a position to afford them being here at Hyderabad in the heart of foreign territory. But the figures of the trade of India are immediately available to you, and what better statistical proof can be had than this? This trade is increasing in value by scores of millions in every decade, and will ultimately be computable by hundreds of millions. It arises mainly from British rule and from the British connexion. One remarkable benefit which India receives from British rule, and which she could not have received to anything like the same extent under Native rule, consists in the vast amount of her produce which England takes off her hands, whereby an immense market for her industry is opened, and whereby the culture of many important staples has either been introduced or augmented, to an extent which would not have been attained under any save British rule. Such are cotton, sugar, fibres, oil-seeds, tea, coffee, indigo, and others.

In connexion with this, the wonderful growth of the three Presidency cities might

* Mr. Shore's notes on Indian affairs contain one of the most searching and severe analyses ever made of our shortcomings in this country.

† Sir Salar Jung, in reference to this reminded me of a pointed speech to this effect made by the late Nizam to General Low in 1836, adding that this speech correctly interpreted the Native idea.

be adduced; Bombay having a population of something under a million souls, and Calcutta and Madras something under half a million each, the aggregate of the three being probably about one million and three quarters. These several centres are entirely created by British rule. They represent not a localized prosperity, but an industry and wealth which permeate the whole country. It is for the sake of the Calcutta sea-port that the Ganges and the Brahmapootra are crowded with fleets of boats, and that the floating cities of boats at Serajgunge and Naraingunge up-country do really exist. It is for the sake of the emporium at Bombay that the cotton agencies are spread all over the villages in the interior of Central India.

I fear that you could not obtain statistics generally of increase of population and of agriculture, though both must have increased much in many places. In many, even most, parts of India, sufficient care was not taken at the outset of British rule to secure a census of the population. If such measures had been adopted in the beginning, their results would now be infinitely valuable for comparative purposes. In the North-West Provinces, which were among the first to set an example in this respect, the last census shows that there has been a slight decrease in population since the troubles of 1857. Before that period, the population was increasing. As it is, however, a great increase of cultivation could be statistically proved. Probably similar proof could be obtained for the Punjab generally. I understand that some striking instances could be found in the Derajat and other parts of the Punjab Trans-Indus frontier. Oudh will so readily suggest itself to you that I need not allude to it further. In Bengal Proper there certainly has been a great increase; whether this could be statistically proved I am not sure; but it could be shown in general terms, and especially in such districts as Mymensingh, Jessore, Backergunge, and the 24-Pergunnahs. In Madras and Bombay the revenue survey records will show specifically great increase of cultivation. In the Central Provinces the settlement reports of the Nerbudda Valley (the Hoshungabad district particularly) will show that most of the wonderful wheat culture now visible has either sprung up or been resuscitated during British rule, the country having been formerly ruined by a lengthened period of Native misrule. In Berar the astonishing rise of cultivation during the few years of British administration is shown by the figures of our annual reports. The rapid growth of British Burmah is attested by the facts recently published in the *Gazette of India*.

On the other hand, I do not know of any case of permanent diminution, either in population or agriculture, in British territories, to set off against the numerous cases of increase. There have of course been temporary losses from famine and calamities, but these are always repaired. Thus it is reasonably demonstrable that there must have been very considerable increase of population, agriculture, and commerce under British rule. This increase is greater far than any growth which has occurred in Native States in the same period, or than would have occurred had the territories, now ours, continued under Native rule. However good the Hindoo rule may have been before the advent of the Mahomedans, or however well the Mahomedans may have managed in some places, and in some times, yet there can hardly be a doubt that Native rule had been getting worse and worse during a long period preceding the establishment of British power; and had become absolutely bad, not only here and there, but in a large proportion of cases. This is the way in which the ruin of ancient works of public utility—a ruin so often spoken of as visible to this day—did really occur.

As a proof of the depth to which Native rule did sometimes descend, I would refer to passages scattered all over Malcolm's Central India, and referring to most parts of Malwa; also to the papers about Nimar printed by the Government of the North-West Provinces. Of course Sleeman's reports on Oudh will readily suggest themselves to you. I see from the Hyderabad records that the Balaghaut Ceded Districts (Bellary, &c.) had suffered terribly from misrule before coming into our possession. The records of the Lahore Secretariat will furnish many tragical particulars of outrages at Bhawulpore and Mumdote on the Sutlej. If required, I could produce from the Hyderabad Residency records a terrible crop of evils and abuses during the last half century, consisting of street fights with great loss of life, of insolent oppression by foreign janissaries, of sanguinary contests between neighbouring landholders, of overt unabashed venality, of persistent peculation, and of extraordinarily audacious crimes, though happily these things are of the past and have during recent years been ably remedied. Again, judging only from the published accounts and not from any personal knowledge, I believe that some very sad instances have

occurred of late years in one or more of the States of Rajpootana. Without the least desire to disparage Native States, I think it is necessary to advert to these matters if any comparison is to be made. Without at all denying that some evils may and do occur equally under British as Native rule, it may be affirmed that these particular flagrant evils above described do *not* happen under British rule, and that territories on coming under us are always immediately freed from such evils.

Further, the almost invariable increase of the public income, which has occurred in each successive province annexed to the British Empire, may be adduced in favour of British rule as compared with Native. The assumed revenue of each province was given at the time of the cession, and will be found doubtless in the records of the Indian Foreign Office. Now, if you were to compare the *then* revenue thus ascertainable with the *present* revenue, easily ascertainable, you would, I believe, find that in Bengal, of which the "Dewanee" was made over to Lord Clive, in the Hindoostan districts ceded by the Nawab Vizier, in the southern districts taken in charge by Sir T. Munro, in the Peshwahs' districts made over to Mountstuart Elphinstone, in the Punjab country taken from the kingdom of Runjeet Sing, in the Burmese districts shorn from the Empire of Alompra, there has been a great progressive increase of the State income. In most cases the British officers begin in the same way; they repeal many Native taxes; the land tax which they retain they assess lower than before; by degrees they put on a few taxes of an indirect character; the ultimate result being great fiscal gain. The *profit* partly arises no doubt from fiscal skill, but it is in a large degree attributable to the flourishing state of the people under our system.

I would here add three instances within my recent knowledge. The Hyderabad Assigned Districts were made over to us in 1861 at an estimated value of 32 lakhs (320,000*l.*) annually. Their total public income, including general revenue and local funds, now stands at Rs. 62 lakhs or 620,000*l.*, showing an increase of 93¾ per cent. in seven years. The Central Provinces, more than half consisting of recent acquisitions, had in 1862 an annual income aggregating something over 80 lakhs or 800,000*l.*, whereas they have now something over 120 lakhs or 1,200,000*l.* The Balaghaut Ceded Districts (Bellary, &c.) had at the cession a declining and broken down revenue which was hardly thought at the time likely to cover the cost of the subsidiary force; they have now Rs. 53,52,060 or 535,206*l.*; so notorious is the fact of great increase in the latter case, that the Nizam himself has more than once reminded us of it during the course of territorial negotiations.

Under British rule the prices of everything, necessaries and luxuries, have advanced steadily; of late years, too, with a progressive ratio of speed. In many, if not in all, parts of the country, wages have risen, not always proportionately, but still very much. In some few districts the peasantry have outrun the working power of rural goldsmiths in the demand for ornaments; it is ordinarily believed that every peasant has buried coin under his hearthstone; in some instances, there are stories of ryots making a plough, or a cart-wheel, of silver, by way of boast: these stories may be exaggerated, but their currency shows the bent of popular opinion. In many, perhaps even most, districts full evidence could be obtained to the effect that the people are better housed and better set up than in former days; better furnished, too, with all domestic utensils, so much so that it is a common saying that the earthen vessels have been converted into brass vessels. I know, on the other hand, no instance of permanent decay in any broad area or district under British rule; famines and other calamities occur, but the districts recover. In any European country the rise of prices perpetually advancing is held to be a proof of national prosperity. The same proof is applicable to India. Now this has happened under British rule to an extent never known in any preceding period, and of which Native rule affords no examples.

Though the British Government has been at infinite pains to perfect its judicial system, still the most thoughtful of its officers are hardly satisfied with the result, but as a test of growth in wealth, the increase of litigation, both as respects number and value of suits, may be adduced. If you can obtain the figures for even some of the Indian provinces many years back, and compare them with those of the present day, a remarkable result would probably be adduced, indicative of material progress in India under British rule. For our more recent acquisitions, especially the Non-regulation provinces, this point can be conclusively made out.

By the exertions of the British Government, European medical science has been largely diffused throughout India, and will be still further diffused. Hereby much

physical benefit has accrued and will continue to accrue more and more. Also sanitation, both in theory and practice, is being carried on throughout the British territories. It may not have yet advanced much beyond the stage of infancy; but it is already accomplishing great things. In no respect is the external contrast between British and Native rule more remarkable than in the aspect of great cities. Let the cities and towns in the interior of India under British rule be compared from a sanitary point of view with what they once were, or with what similar places still are under Native rule, and then some idea can be formed of the material advantages which British rule (despite admitted shortcomings in this respect) does really confer on the urban population.

I would not lay too much stress on the introduction of English piece goods among the whole people of India (which is, however, a cardinal fact), because it gradually extinguishes many indigenous manufactures. It is of course most beneficial nevertheless.

Nor would I urge too strongly the prosperity of the monied classes under British rule (though this is also a large fact). For I find that this class flourishes greatly under Native rule. Sometimes the abuses of a bad Native government foster unduly this very class, by borrowing money and forestalling the revenues. In the worst days of the Hyderabad State the bankers enjoyed an inflated and unnatural prosperity. Of late years this has been reduced as a consequence of improved government.

I would not make too much of the very large and increasing sum expended under British rule by the Natives for public improvements and for charity. This good practice existed and exists largely under Native rule.

The above considerations point on the whole to the superiority of British over Native rule in respect to the material and physical welfare of the people. The following considerations will point to its superiority in respect to moral progress.

Primarily the efforts of the British in India, in the direction of national education, have been really vast of late years. Even, if in a discussion of this sort, it be not permissible to advert to religious considerations, still the teaching and educating power of the Protestant Missionary bodies of all denominations, as proveable by statistics, amounts to a mighty agency. Evidence of the great change passing over even the religion of the people at such places as Calcutta, Bombay, Benares, within the last quarter of a century is, I should suppose, readily obtainable. In the southern parts of the Peninsula the organization of the Roman Catholic churches is truly wide-spread; some of those facts might be stated without difficulty. The noble results of Protestant Missionary enterprises among the Karen population of Burmah have been too recently before the public to require any further allusion here. Now all these moral benefits are, under Providence, owing to British rule.

State education was extremely weak and backward (even if it existed at all) under Native rule. It has, of late years especially, been brought out with powerful auspices, and on a large scale under British rule. Let the number of schools and scholars, either maintained, assisted, or inspected, by the agency of the British Government throughout India, be counted up and totalled. The result, however far it may fall short of the needs of the population, will yet be appreciably great and *pro tanto*, it will be a proof of the moral superiority of British over Native rule. No Native Government would ever have thought of or compassed an undertaking of this magnitude.

Native literature, whatever it may have been in the olden time, had languished, had well nigh died out, for a long period before the introduction of British rule. Now, although in these days there is still a want of *original* native literature in India, still literature of a certain sort is becoming rich and abundant. Let the number of Native newspapers now published in India, of native educational works brought out annually, the literary works published annually by Natives, be even approximately counted up, and then some estimate can be formed of the mental industry, the intellectual efforts among the Natives as stimulated by our system. Let the returns of books annually sold to the native youth in the many provinces of India be collected; and then the diffusion of knowledge may be somewhat understood Here again, these results are owing to British rule.

Thus I make out that, despite shortcomings admitted to the full, British rule in India is demonstrably superior to Native rule. If this be truly so, then we may be sure that the Natives do, on the whole, like it the better of the two. When they are well off, they are certain sooner or later to know it in their hearts, though they be not externally demonstrative. National prejudices are strong with some, or with

many perhaps; but with the mass these will naturally yield to self-interest. In *part* (but not whole) proof of the greater *popularity* of our rule, therefore, I would allege its indisputable superiority.

I am not without fear that this letter may be too long, and may fatigue the Viceroy. But I have endeavoured to state my evidence for His Excellency's information as well as I could on this somewhat complex and difficult question.

OBSERVATIONS by COLONEL H. D. DALY, Officiating Political Agent, Gwalior, on the Method of Government pursued in Native States, with a few references on the Estimation of the System of British Administration in India by its people.—(Dated Gwalior, 21st August 1867.)

The State machinery of Gwalior has been modelled on that in force in British territory. Courts of Law, Justice, and Revenue are separately constituted. The regulations for the guidance of these Courts and the general administration were compiled by Dinkur Rao, and embody in simplicity the main principles of our own system.

2. During Dinkur Rao's Dewanship this machinery was administered with an attempt at purity. That period exists no longer.

3. The Maharajah is paramount in all matters of State, and exercises control in every Court. No material award is passed on any case without his sanction, which is more dependent, it is generally believed, on His Highness's estimation of the individual concerned, than on the merits of the matter at issue.

4. If a party in a suit, civil or criminal, shall have sided with Dinkur Rao during the mutiny, his fate is sealed. For him there is neither justice nor compasion. This is so well understood in Gwalior, that when Dinkur Rao visits the capital, scarcely does a man of note dare to recognize him.

5. The Court of Appeal from the Courts below is presided over by the Dewan and Pundit Hirnath. The Dewan is old and feeble. The Pundit keen and unscrupulous, educated in an English school; he is familiar with our language and habits. He was Dinkur Rao's Secretary and in his confidence; his present high position is mainly due to the betrayal of that confidence.

6. In 1861 Hirnath was deprived of the Naib Dewanship by the Maharajah for extortion committed during an investigation into a dacoity, and his associate, named Moolchand, was imprisoned for six months in the jail, or so sentenced. A Court in which Hirnath is the working authority needs no description. It is said that it is not unusual for a party in a suit to secure the fiat of the High Court before the case has been even disposed of by the Court below.

Sir R. Shakespear, then Agent, Governor-General, wrote a congratulatory khureeta to the Maharajah on his justice in thus punishing the oppressors of his people.

7. Moolchand, the accomplice in the extortion, has been lately appointed Kotwal of the capital, an office of emolument and trust.

8. The Appeal Court is held twice a week in the Dewan's house; in important cases the place of assembly is the Maharajah's Palace.

9. Stamp fees are levied in various stages of a suit, and form a handsome item in the treasury receipts.

10. I will illustrate the value of the Court's decrees when execution only remains. A few days ago I observed an old man with a paper waiting for me in a verandah, which is unfrequented by servants or chupprassees. His joy at thus seeing me alone was tearful: he thought his long anxiety at an end. The tale was this: Months ago, after a lengthened struggle and heavy expenditure, he obtained from the Court of Appeal a decree for Rs. 1,200 and upwards against a man in his employ. After waiting in vain for execution, finding petitions to others of no effect, he carried one on illuminated paper to Agra for the Viceroy at the last Durbar. The other day this was returned to him with a memorandum or endorsement by the Under-Secretary, Mr. Wyllie, consigning the petitioner to the Political Agent. Thus the poor worn-out old man thought his cause won. After hearing the tale of his trials I asked, "Is yours a singular case?" "Singular," he shouted, "there are hundreds in my position." Of course I failed in making him understand that the chief was the referee in matters arising out of his own Courts, and that the Political Agent was prohibited from interference; but he knew how utterly hopeless was his case.

11. The foregoing would be incomplete without a remark or two upon one who, from behind the scenes, greatly sways in Gwalior. This is Lalla Sheollee—Scindia's

own newswriter—a few years ago a small trader in Delhi, now one of the rich men of the Lushkur; his emissary is in every office; no official escapes him; the Police posts are under him; every Soobah and men greater than Soobahs pay him tribute.

12. Colonel Sutherland, Resident of Gwalior, remarked in his tour in Malwa in 1837 that Native Governments fear to trust their officers with power: the superior is watched by the inferior. Time has brought no change in this respect. Should the Sirsoobah, or Governor of the Province, intercede to prevent extortion or oppression on the part of the Soobah, the latter, who is always in direct intercourse with the Court, reports that the interference has prevented the realization of the revenues: the order goes forth for the Sirsoobah to desist. Thus the Sirsoobah is helpless, for he can neither appoint nor discharge an Amil.

13. On the other hand, should the Sirsoobah fraternize in the work of spoliation, as was done in Esaghur three years ago, and the oppression wreck the revenue, the Maharajah is no longer deaf to the cries. He made a tour through the district people thronged to his camp; petitions were piled in heaps. Inquiry ensued; the guilt of the Sirsoobah was established, and his suspension ordered, with a heavy fine for the benefit, not of the stript ryots, but of the Maharajah's treasury.

14. A Revenue Soobah is rarely discharged for fraud or oppression. Should the receipts of his district show symptoms of weakness, he is suspended and ordered to the capital there to be put through the sieve. Time rights this, and he is given a fresh field. Scindia himself thinks little of a man being detected in fraud or bribery. He does not conceal his opinions on this point that to remove a servant for such a cause is but to give another opportunity of doing the same. Then, again, Soobahs who have made money, readily pay money, contract for nuzzuranas, &c., and prepay the amount.

15. Colonel Sutherland, in 1837, described Esaghur, Bhilsa, and Malwa as desolate and miserable. Thirty years have brought no change for the better. Travellers still go armed to the teeth, and in many places the man at the plough has a sword by his side. Traders going from village to village are not safe without an armed Bheel or Sondia.

16. To men accustomed to see districts under British rule such a statement must seem fabulous. It is necessary to live and move in Native States to know the nature of the system under which they exist.

17. The comparison, between their method of administration and our own is as St. Giles' to St. James'.

18. What is understood by Government in civilized countries has no place in any Native State unconnected with us so far as my experience and knowledge go. In Europe it is said that happy accidents occur in despotisms. Such accidents are unknown in the East; there is neither security of person nor property. Men are seized at the instance of any man in power, imprisoned without charge, discharged without trial. There is no record of mortality. Death by foul means would only excite inquiry in the event of money being forthcoming to prosecute it; more money, and the question is stifled. These things are well known. Petitions have often reached me setting forth false imprisonment: murder unnoticed.

19. A Political Agent has no authority to institute inquiries into such matters; probably the State makes no returns to him of crime or casualty. If in a friendly manner he moved in a case laid before him, every effort would be used to stifle his purpose.

20. I may here remark that Scindia himself views his own administration as infinitely superior to that of any other Native State; as he does everything himself, he considers everything done well. The fullness of his treasury is his test of successful administration, and no official changes or receives a post without paying nuzzurana, and no doubt the amount of this has great weight in settling the candidate's suitability.

21. As to the comparative estimation by the people at large, and whether their prosperity and contentment are best promoted under British or Native rule, what, let me ask, would cause greater dismay in districts which for years have been under us than the announcement that they were about to be transferred to a Native State —Scindia or Holkar for instance?

22. Political Officers who have lived amongst Chiefs and Thakoors under our guarantee know well the effect of such a threat; whatever the contumacy, it is succeeded by extreme humility; for well they know, without our intervention, the sunnuds they hold are worthless. During late years circumstances have rendered it desirable to effect exchanges of land between the British Government and Scindia:

our endeavour has always been to maintain the rights intact of those transferred by us with their land. The Governor-General's Agent well knows the failure of these efforts and the distress which ensues—wails break forth of confiscations and broken pledges. Within the last few days petitions, which I know to be true in their purport, have reached me on this point; but I have never known an instance of discontent on the part of a ryot transferred by the Durbar. He has got a fixed lease or settlement in lieu of fixed uncertainty.

23. It has been said that where the frontiers of Native States intermingle with those of British territory, people pass from our border to theirs, but not from theirs to ours. With a class no doubt this is true. Wherever there is much intermixing of frontier lines, predatory bands, hereditary dacoits congregate; their livelihood, from generation to generation, has been plunder. The people amongst whom they live seem to sympathize with them; for, under a Native Government, resistance to their depredations would be useless. From the chief there is no hope; the marauders pay black mail to him for their footing, and no village official is without a share of the spoil which is gathered from afar. When British rule closes on such frontiers, these tribes pass over to the protecting State. This is the class whose tastes lead them to quit the land in which their occupation is gone; but time, when it carries with it order and security, is too much even for these lawless gangs, as is seen in the North-West and the borders of the Terai. Broad tracts which, a few years ago, were given over to dacoits and wild beasts, are now quickly tilled and dotted about with comfortable villages.

24. I have already made these observations longer than I ought to have done, but the subject bursts with fullness. Let me cast a glance at Malwa. What has caused Scindia's cities of Ojein and Mundisore year by year to lose wealth, importance, and population? Mundisore is in the very heart of the poppy fields, on the banks of a noble river; yet many of its streets are in ruins and its name is declining. Ojein, that ancient city, venerated by all Hindoos, with the Seepra flowing by its walls and rich land around, is crumbling to the ground and being yearly deserted by merchants and men of business. Scindia's Naib Dewan, in his report of his late tour in Malwa, describes villages in ruins and much plundering and desolation.

25. On the other hand, why are Rutlam and Jowra, comparatively insignificant States, increasing in wealth and prosperity? *Because it has chanced to them to fall under British protection.* With the last 40 years, through the heirs of both States being infants on accession, the supervision was assumed by Major Borthwick, one of Malcolm's assistants. Rutlam was then in a small way, what Mundisore is now, losing importance. Borthwick delivered over his charge when the time came. Rutlam, a busy handsome city, filled with merchants and traders, prosperity everywhere, in the treasury and in the villages, for he had made a land settlement which gave contentment to the people.

26. After the lapse of a few years, Rutlam again passed into the hands of a child of two or three years old. During the interval dissension and dissipation had destroyed much that Borthwick had built up; the bazar had lost its fullness; but under British guardianship, during the last three or four years, more than the old prosperity is reviving. This time the Superintendent (Shahamut Ali) is a Native of Hindoostan; he has visited Europe, and is a scholar and administrator of no mean attainments. His hard and fast line may not be ours, but in a troubled position he has worked wonders during his supervision. Cultivators and traders press to Rutlam from other Native States.

27. Jowra, 40 years ago, was little more than a village. Under Borthwick's fostering care, it became a city with a rich and well supplied mart. When he made over his charge, the young Nawab so carefully maintained all that had been inaugurated, that Jowra continued to increase in prosperity. About two years ago this Nawab died; his heir is a minor, and thus the State has again fallen under British protection. The administration is carried on by the late Nawab's minister, under the supervision of the Political Agent. It has now a bazar second only to Rutlam. Order everywhere prevails, and the air of contentment which possesses the people strikes every passer-by.

28. Again, Sillana; this small State, during the minority of its present Rajah, fell into our management. The Superintendent, for some years, was the same Shahamut Ali, who is now at Rutlam. When he took charge debts were heavy, and disorder was in everything. During his guardianship, the debts were reduced four-fifths; the revenues put on a footing which brought the old inhabitants back to their calling, and Sillana itself was greatly restored from its ruins. Traders and borahs settled

there. Such was the condition of affairs when the State was made over by the British Superintendent to the young Chief. Since that a few years only have passed, and what is now the condition?

29. Sillana is being deserted; cries everywhere rise up of oppression and plunder. Engagements to ryots are broken. Lakhs of debt have been accumulated. So heavy was the burden that the Rajah laid his affairs before the Political Agent, and sought his advice. His ryots and traders are passing to Rutlam and Jowra.

30. The Governor General's Agent knows better than I do the utter want of confidence amongst Natives at large in the promises of any Chief—great or small. I will, however, give an instance in point. About Goonah, where I was for some years, scores of square miles of rich land belonging to petty Rajahs are waste. The Rajah of Bhadowra invited my assistance in obtaining cultivators. I spoke to Sikh pensioners of the Central India Horse and others about to take pension, men always greedy for land, and suggested that they should settle and form villages. The idea thoroughly chimed in with their inclinations, *on one condition*, that I should countersign the engagement between them and the Rajah. Without this, despite his liberal offers of years of free tenure and a sunnud, not a man would risk his savings or discuss the question.

31. Scindia has long felt the same in many parts of Esaghur, &c. His offers are tempting, but there is no reliance on them. He is too proud to seek or accept our guarantee, which would bring hundreds to till the rich ground. It is to be hoped that our guarantees will not increase, for the end is disorder and confusion.

32. I will conclude with extracts from a Report of Colonel J. Sutherland, 1837-38, when Resident of Gwalior, than whom there have been few Officers of more varied experience. He was a man of great benevolence, the avowed friend and supporter of Native States. In Rajpootana, where he was Governor General's Agent, his name is held in veneration. After a lengthened tour in Bundelcund, Malwa, Berar, &c., he thus describes his entrance in British territory:—

"We had again, in the Baitool district, an example of the benefit conferred on the people by British rule, and of the estimation in which it is held. Taking it all in all, it is very gratifying to anyone interested in the permanent prosperity of our rule to witness the comfort and tranquillity which reign throughout this poor and remote tract of country, to hear the inhabitants ascribing these things to the justice of our Officers, and the moderation of our Government."

He goes on to prove that the advantages of British rule have been more appreciated in these districts and those of Nimar than in many parts of India, and for the same reasons.

"We found in them no upper classes; no cities in the enjoyment of wealth and luxury through the expenditure of a Court, so that our administration has been one of unmixed benefit to all. The people are conscious, from an experience of twenty years, that our system, by whoever administered, will continue the same. Under Native rule, a breath raises them up or casts them down. Accompanied as I am by persons little accustomed to British rule, and whom it is my daily duty to reproach on the badness of their own, I confess that I have no little pride and pleasure in pointing to a happy tenantry and well-cultivated fields, and hearing them confess that the people have no cause of complaint; that this is so no one can suppose, but that it is so by comparison with the people of those countries through which we have been travelling I have myself no doubt. When at Agra last year I told a Native gentleman, Mir Alum Khan, an inhabitant of the Nizam's country, who had resided the greater portion of his life there, but who had also lived much in camps and travelled through Persia and Arabia, to compare the condition of the different classes under our rule with that of the corresponding classes under Native rule. He told me that our rule was particularly calculated to protect and render prosperous, in as far as prosperity can be their lot, three great classes of the community, —the merchant, the agriculturist, and the labourer—and these he allowed were the great majority of mankind. But he said it was destruction to the gentleman who ought to live at home at ease; and the interests of the few he considered of greater importance than those of the many—*they* were of his own order."

From J. H. MORRIS, Esq., Officiating Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, to the UNDER SECRETARY to THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department.—(Dated Nagpore, August 23, 1867.)

I HAVE the pleasure now to reply to your "confidential" letter of the 1st July.

If the people of an Indian province be divided into five classes, namely,—

The nobility and courtiers;
The commercial class;
The land-holding and land-occupying class;
The labouring class;
The religious class;

then we must perhaps admit that the first and the last of these classes have material cause for regarding British administration with disfavour. The nobles have no lucrative or honourable posts to look to, such as the headships of great State departments, the governorships of provinces, the command of armies. In a Native State there are always a number of offices of this kind: some of them are hereditary; nearly all of them go to members of the local aristocracy. With us a Rajah (such, for instance, as the ancient Gond talookdars of the Nerbudda Valley) may, if he manages well, keep out of debt, have a flourishing estate, be an Honorary Magistrate, and keep on good or even friendly terms with British officers. But his local influence and importance are far less than attach to the nearest Tehseeldar, who perhaps began life as a clerk on Rs. 10 a month. Then, again, the cadets of old families like these have, or think they have, no choice but to vegetate on the scanty pittance which the head of their house can allow them.

With the courtiers who have survived a Native court the case is perhaps even harder. The provision made by the British Government for the people of the old Nagpore Court was extremely liberal, yet it is quite sad to see how swiftly and surely these people drift into debt. A few of them were appointed Extra Assistant Commissioners, and they got on at first tolerably well, but they could not keep up with the requirements of our system, and they retired. Sir R. Temple did what he could to bring forward some of the younger courtiers as Tehseeldars. But as yet these men have not adapted themselves to our system. Some of the sons of these courtiers, however, are likely to do fairly well.

The religious classes must be worse off than they were under Native rule. The most they can hope for from our Government is the continuance, in whole or in part, of the regularly recognized assignments they formerly enjoyed. They cannot now get large annual gifts from royal ladies, or rich grants by the bequests of dying kings. The Native nobles and courtiers who used to maintain them are themselves more or less straitened. Education is beginning appreciably to spread; freethinking is becoming more common; superstition is in some places being lightened. All these changes, however desirable in themselves, must lessen the revenues of the priestly classes.

As for the labouring class, its members very rarely give any thought to the Government under which they live. Nor is their daily life, or their means of living, much affected by the Government. The people of this class look very little beyond next day's dinner; they live and they work, and they eat and they die, and they can do all these things under either the British Government or a Native Prince. Perhaps it is easier for a labouring man to move about and carry his labour to the best market; perhaps his day's wages may be a little larger and a little surer in a British province than in a neighbouring Native State. But their food is perhaps cheaper in the Native kingdom. And a coolie may there be as dirty as he likes; he may live without interference in the middle of a marsh, or over a cesspool; whereas in a British town he and his must conform to a number of petty sanitary laws. Men from the labouring class do occasionally raise themselves. And for such people the path of advancement is as easy and less irksome under Native rule. Perhaps a poor weaver can now be more sure of enjoying the full proceeds of his toil than he could have been in Nagpore 20 years ago. But then he bears in mind that in the times of the Bhonslas country fabrics were worn by every one, from the Rajah to the sweeper; whereas *now*, not only is *Juggernathee Kapra* (long cloth) largely worn, but he is undersold by cloths made at Manchester looms in exact imitation of what he himself used to turn out. Men of this class do not as yet appreciate the advantages we hold out to them, such as education, medical treatment, justice, police, facility for travel, and the like.

There remain two classes—

The commercial and
The agricultural.

The commercial classes are certainly better off in British than in Native provinces. They will allow this themselves; the success of this class is indeed in the eyes of a portion of our subjects one of the reproaches to British rule. For a few years after annexation, in a place like Nagpore, the merchants may feel the loss of the lavish expenditure of a Native Court; but everywhere else the commercial classes thrive better under British than under Native Government. Perhaps it is unnecessary to say anything more upon this point. There are no statistics available to show that merchants and dealers actually make larger earnings than they did under Native rule. But it is quite certain that they enjoy their profits more, possess them more surely, and spend them more freely than before. Formerly (I say *formerly*, because it seems fair to compare British administration with the old Native Governments, rather than with the existing Native administrations to which the leaven of British fairness, order, and public spirit has spread) a banker, whatever he earned, lived poorly lest he should tempt the rapacity of some official. Now Native merchants live well, dress well, wear jewels, drive carriages, endow schools, build ghâts, construct temples, and in fact enjoy their money to the fullest extent.

Lastly, there is the agricultural class; they are the most important class of all; and in some provinces of British India they have derived as much material benefit from British rule as any class. They fully appreciate the immense benefit which the British system confers upon them in the shape of certainty of tenure, and fixity, as well as moderation, of demand. Take the case of the Nagpore province; it had triennial revenue settlements, and at each settlement some five or six per cent. of the landholders either were evicted from their lands, or else had to give them up from inability to pay the enhanced Government demand. In those times the proportion of the rents and village profits which went into the pocket of the landlord was about 10 per cent. or even less. Now, even at the outset of a 30 years' settlement, the landlord enjoys at least 30 per cent. of the village profits. The freedom from transit duties when he takes his produce to market; the liberality with which Government advances loans (without interest) *tuccavee* for improvements; the additional means of getting from place to place;—all these advantages are much appreciated by the people. There are some few features of our revenue and general administration which even this class dislike: such, for instance, as the punctuality so strictly enforced in payments of land revenue; the frequent visits of chuprassies for sanitary, statistical, and other purposes; some of them perhaps dislike the influence brought to bear to make them educate their children. In a word, they fail to appreciate our constant desire for speedy progress, moral and material; they would prefer to be let alone. Then perhaps the inflexibility and stiffness of our judicial system is, for a generation or so at least, irksome to them. And lastly, the law of land sale (as Mr. Kaye calls it) is in the eyes of the landholding classes a real grievance.

Still, notwithstanding all these fancied drawbacks, the balance would be in favour of our revenue system, even when weighed against the better-managed Native systems. I fear that I cannot give actual figures in proof of this; but I can at any rate adduce instances where the two systems have in effect been weighed against each other by a large body of landholders and occupiers:—

1. As Settlement Officer of Mooltan, I can recollect how very much our system then was preferred to that in Bhawulpore. And I can remember how the farmers of Bhawulpore used to try all they could to get a holding in our territory.
2. The influx of tens of thousands of the agricultural classes into Berar since it came under British rule, and the immense rise in the value of land there, is very patent to us, who are divided from Berar by the River Wurdah only.
3. So far as I can learn, an exactly opposite result has taken place in the Raichore Doab. And when I was travelling in the west coast some years back, I heard very much of the loud expressions which the petty proprietors of that tract gave to the dislike at being transferred to the Nizam.
4. The Upper Godavery talooks came to us in 1860-61. Already about 9 per cent. have been added to the population there by immigration alone, and the extent of cultivation and the wealth of the district has proportionately increased.

5. In 1850 A.D., two Pergunnahs, which had formerly belonged to the Jeytpore Rajah, and had been under British management for some time, escheated, and they were attached to the Dumoh district. In 1859 one of these Pergunnahs (Simurea) was given to the Punnah Chief for his mutiny services. The landholding classes made a great outcry at the time, saying what wrong had they done that they were to be handed over to Punnah. About two years ago one of our settlement officers had occasion to cross this Pergunnah in going from one part of Dumoh to another. And numbers of the landholders came to his tent, telling him of their unhappy lot; how they held on only a five years' tenure; how some of them were evicted; how they had to pay extra taxes, such as "foujkhurch," and the like; how that an extra benevolence had been exacted from them when there was a marriage in the Rajah's family, and the like.
6. The Bijeragoghur Pergunnah has only recently become British territory, and a few villages of that tract were given in jagheer to the Nagode Chief in reward for his mutiny services. These villages are now Nagode territory. And the malgoozars complain—in their intercourse with the Settlement Officer at least—of the misfortune which has befallen them. They say that they have no security of tenure, and they have to pay all sorts of extra taxes. In their figurative language they said they had been handed over to Nagode to have their throats cut.

I believe that instances of this kind might be multiplied. At the same time it is only fair to say that this feeling is not absolutely universal. There has been for some years an impending exchange of territory with Holkar, which will involve the transfer to the Indore Durbar of two or three Nimar Pergunnahs. So far as our officers can judge, the people of those tracts feel no dislike at the prospect of re-transfer to Native rule. Again, many of our Nerbudda Valley landholders also own villages in Bhopal or under the Gwalior Durbar; and they always speak with respect and contentment of the treatment they receive at the hands of the Revenue authorities there.

On the whole, then, it may perhaps be claimed that the agricultural classes enjoy greater material advantages—and acknowledge that they do so—under British than under Native rule. Indeed, I hardly think it would be possible to find anywhere in the world a more prosperous community than the petty proprietors of the (ryotwaree) districts of Dharwar, Ahmedabad, Tanjore, and Berar, than the whole agricultural body in the lightly-rented districts of the Punjab and the Central Provinces.

Your letter under reply asks for statistics, and I am now offering little more than general statements. But I know of no statistics showing the production, earnings, and profits of the various classes in any Native State, so I have been unable to give every arithmetical statement of the material position of Native and British subjects.

I would, however, add that, if British rule in India is to be weighed in the balance, it should not be found wanting until full weight has been given to sundry other considerations besides its comparative material benefits conferred, or the comparative estimation in which the two systems are held by Natives. Native rule prevents, while British rule permits and encourages, advancement. Even the Bhopal State takes the highest possible land-tax, prohibits the export of grain, and refuses to make roads. But the administration of Bhopal, of Travancore, of Puttiala, of the Putwurdhuns, of Gwalior, would not be what it is if it were not for the example and influence of the paramount power. The influence of our Residents, the example of our governments, the competition of our provinces, compel Native States to maintain order, to administer a sort of justice, to curb exaction. Add to this, that if there were no strong paramount Power, some one or more of the provinces of India would always be torn by wars of the kind we have recently seen waging in Afghanistan. Material progress of any kind must utterly and entirely cease in the presence of warfare of this kind.

MEMORANDUM by COLONEL A. FYTCHE, Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, and Agent to the Governor-General, on the comparative progress of the provinces, now forming British Burmah, under British and Native rule.—(Dated Rangoon, August 23, 1867).

It may be premised that the following paper has been drawn up on the understanding that *data* should be furnished showing as clearly as possible the material progress of British Burmah under British Administration, as compared with its condition under Native rule, or with the condition of existing neighbouring States and Powers; and that no discussion or argument is desired as to the popularity of our rule, or the advantages which it may possess, except so far as these are to be assumed from the statements indicative of the comparative progress of the people under our Government.

2. British Burmah affords means of drawing a fair comparison between British and Native Administration, because it has in immediate contact with it as a Government the very power from whose dominions the province was obtained. In 1826 the provinces of Arrakan and Tenasserim were annexed to the British territories from the Burmese Power, still leaving to the King of Ava the whole of the northern portion of his dominions, as well as the important province of Pegu, formed of the lower portion of the valley of the Irrawaddy River and its delta. We thus obtained possession of the least productive portion of the Burmese Kingdom, while the King retained the magnificent lands of Pegu, with the valuable outlet of Rangoon, to which point foreign trade had solely been drawn.

3. A reference to the map will show that the province of Pegu was fairly interposed between the newly-acquired districts, in a position easily to withdraw from them both population and trade, provided Native rule had proved more attractive to either. These conditions, then, seemed to furnish a fair test—only that the presumption was in favour of the Native dynasty in virtue of its holding a far richer and more accessible country.

4. As it is required that the endeavor to compare the result of British and of Native rule in these countries is to be made on specific data, it is necessary to select some one element of advancement as a standard, from which can be deduced the many numerous conditions which go to make up material progress. If this be not done, the comparison must spread out into an examination too minute and extended to be satisfactorily disposed of within a reasonable compass—and the difficulty is increased from the impossibility of obtaining in detail the items which constituted the revenue, taxes, and trade of British Burmah previous to our occupation, in such a shape as would enable individual comparison with the fiscal arrangements now in force.

5. In the east there is probably no better general test of the advancement of a country than the rise or fall, the ebb or flow, of its population. A steady increase in the population indicates in fact a prosperous people, a firm and stable Government, and an absence of oppression. It produces, especially where the proportion is not in excess of the capabilities of the soil, extended cultivation and increased trade. If then it can be fairly shown *that* the population of the provinces composing British Burmah has increased at a rate which far exceeds the numbers to be obtained from natural increase, and must be attributed to immigration; *that* in one instance where the locality whence the immigration was drawn became British, the exodus ceased; while the flow from Native States into British districts more accessible continued; and *that* where detailed statistics are available, it will be seen our frontier districts have increased at the highest ratio, then we may conclude that British administration in Burmah has proved its superiority over Native rule. In British Burmah the population returns are fairly reliable, because they are susceptible of easy check from the Capitation Tax in force in these provinces. This tax is levied from all male adults, and the revenue received therefrom,—actual money paid into the treasury at fixed rates per head, has shown a proportional increase, corresponding with the rise in population.

6. It is well known that when Arrakan and Tenasserim first came into our possession in 1826 they were almost depopulated, and were so unproductive that it was seriously deliberated whether they should not be restored to Burmah. The following figures will show how much these apparently unprofitable acquirements prospered under our administration.

7. In 1826 the province of Arrakan, with an area of 18,630 square miles, had a population of only 100,000 souls; these were the indigenous population. In 1835 this had risen to 211,536, of whom not more than 6,000 were foreigners. In 1845

the population numbered 309,608, an increase of 50 per cent. in the decade, and in 1855 reached 366,310, or 15 per cent. in the decade; but in 1852 Pegu had become a British possession, the effect of which was immediately felt in Arrakan, still the total increase in Arrakan during the 29 years was 250 per cent. of the indigenous population, or an average of 50 cent. in each decade.

8. Now, turning to Tenasserim, we find that in 1829, three years after the annexation, the population in a province with an area of 28,000 square miles was estimated at a little over 70,000 souls. In 1835 it had risen to 84,917, or 21 per cent. in six years. In 1845 to 127,455, or 50 per cent. in the decade. In 1855 to 213, 692 or 69 per cent. in the decade. In other words, it had increased by 200 per cent. in 26 years. The actual increase in the home population of England and Wales (after the loss from emigration) has been about 12 per cent. in each decade of the last 50 years.

9. To support the above returns, we will give the statistics of revenue and assessed cultivation during the same period. The revenue of Arrakan, which in 1826 was 23,225*l.*, rose as follows:—In 1835 to 52,832*l.*; in 1845 to 68,455*l.*; and in 1855 to 127,729*l.* The area of assessed cultivation, commencing in 1830 with 66,227 acres, advanced in 1835 to 133,952; in 1845 to 233,769; and in 1855 to 353,885 acres, while the value of the entire trade in the same year amounted to 1,876,998*l.*

10. In Tenasserim the first year's revenue in 1825-26 was 2,676. In 1835-36 it had risen to 33,953*l*; in 1845-46, 52,525*l*; and in 1855-56 had reached 83,300*l.*, while the total trade amounted to 836,305*l.* Land under cultivation was not assessed by area in the earlier years of our occupation, and we have no returns on that head until 1843, when 100,657 acres were assessed. This in 1845 had increased to 119,869, and in 1855-56 to 181,681.

11. Now, from 1826 until 1852, these provinces of Arrakan and Tenasserim had, as a competitor both for trade and population, the Burman territories, with a frontier of some 800 miles, across which our subjects were free to go, as far as we were concerned; but not free to come, because the Burman authorities strongly opposed emigration, and put serious obstacles in the way of any of their people migrating to our territories. Yet the immense increase of population shows that very large numbers were attracted to our rule.

12. As to the trade, there are no reliable data available to show what it could have been under Burmese rule for, say, the half century before we occupied the provinces; but we know from the absence of any seaport towns of importance, and from the small number of vessels which ever visited these provinces from other countries, that at the time they came into our possession, there was scarcely any external trade at all. During the years, however, which have now been described, Maulmain, in the Tenasserim provinces, became from a fishing village a city of 60,000 inhabitants; and Akyab, in Arrakan, similarly sprung into existence and reached a population of 20,000 souls.

13. So far has been traced the progress of these provinces up to 1855, but in 1852 the province of Pegu, including the rich delta of the Irrawaddy, had been annexed to our territory, the three provinces eventually forming British Burmah; and we have brought the older two provinces up to 1855, because from that date a carefully prepared statement of the statistics of the whole three provides a ready reference on all points of their material progress, as well as because in the first few years of our occupation of Pegu, the returns are necessarily not so reliable as when the administration was completely organized.

14. Pegu came into our possession in 1852, with an estimated population of 500,000 souls, and an area of 33,400 square miles, or a ratio of 15 persons to the square mile. In 1855 it is returned at 631,640 souls, or nearly 19 to the square mile. It will be remembered that Arrakan, commencing in 1826 with a ratio of 5½ persons to the square mile, had risen in 1855 to a ratio of 20 persons; and Tenasserim, from a ratio of 2½ persons in 1829, had increased to 7 persons per square mile in 1855. But it would seem that in the beginning of the century the population of the true Burman Empire (that is, Upper Burmah as now constituted, Pegu and Martaban) was estimated by various authorities at from 20 to 23 persons the square mile, and if this were the general average it may be concluded that the fertile province of Pegu containing the valley of the Irrawaddy, with that river as the highway from the seaport town of Rangoon to Ava, the Capital of the Empire, must have had a higher rate than the remainder of the country.

15. But taking the population of Pegu at 23 persons the square mile in 1826, we can then compare the position of the territories, British and Native, after 29 years of mutual contract, thus :—

		1826. Population.	1855. Population.
NATIVE	Pegu	769,120	719,640
BRITISH	Arrakan	100,000	341,310*
	Tenasserim	70,000	213,692
TOTAL		939,320	1,274,642

Now we know that the gross increase in Arrakan and Tenasserim in these 29 years was 385,000 souls, from which, allowing the natural increase during that period to have been 75 per cent. on the original population, we may deduct 127,500 on that account, and this will leave us 257,500 souls as the emigration from Pegu and the other Native Burman States into British territory; and if we compare Pegu (including Martaban) fairly estimated in 1826 with Pegu (including Martaban) even in 1855) three years after it came into our possession, during which period its population is believed to have risen from 588,000 to 719,640), we find it with nearly 50,000 less population at the latter than at the former period. This is an astonishing result, when placed against the immense progress of the British territories in its immediate neighbourhood.

16. The very scanty ratio of population to area which it is believed Burmah has, within historical periods, always had under Native rule, is almost certain proof that the actual natural increase is very low, or rather has been very low, yet it has very great capacity for supporting human life; and we have been able in tracing the British occupation of Arrakan and Tenasserim, far less productive countries, to provide for a natural increase in them of 75 per cent. in 29 years, and even then have a large surplus population. Had Pegu, during the same period with its greater advantages, increased at the same proportion, it should have been possessed of a population of more than 1,000,000 souls when it came into our hands. Instead of this, we find its population to have retrograded, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the people who should have enriched the Native State were drawn into British territory.

17. Having thus brought up these provinces to 1855, we shall now trace their progress since that period. The province of Pegu, as has been said, came into our possession in 1852; but making allowances for the distressed condition of a country after a campaign, and for the imperfect returns accidental to a newly-organized administration, we may pass over the years up to 1855, and from that date commence our deductions.

18. Now, as to the province of Pegu, it faces with a perfectly open frontier of (say) 200 miles, the still existing Burmese territories under the King of Ava, so that it is fairly pitted against the possibly superior attractions of Native rule. From our territories any subject of ours is free to move into Upper Burmah whenever he desires, whereas there is a steady opposition shown to any emigration from the King's dominions into ours. So strong is this that when families of cultivators wish to cross they are frequently obliged to do so by stealth at night, bringing possibly their cattle and carts, but abandoning their houses and much property. They send intelligence constantly to our Police Stations on the frontier to announce that they are coming, asking at the same time that a guard may meet them on the frontier to protect them from the pursuing Burmese officials; and again and again are our Police Stations flanked by the camps of whole villages who have bodily moved into our territories and taken shelter there until they had selected their future fields.

19. In the face of these difficulties, then, we find that Pegu, first a separate province, now a division of British Burmah, had in 1855 a population of 631,640 souls, which in 1865 had risen to 1,350,989, that is, had more than doubled itself in ten years, the exact increase being 113 per cent. The proportion of population to area had increased from 19 to 40 per square mile. If we allow a natural increase of 25 per cent. during the decade in question, we may deduct 157,910 on that account; and 20,000, the number of foreigners, from 719,349, which is the total gross increase; and these deductions will leave us an immigration of the indigenous population into our territories of the enormous number of 561,439 souls in the 10 years from 1855 to 1865.

* Not including foreigners.

20. Further, if we look to the increase of individual districts during the same period, it will appear that their ratio of increase is strangely in accordance with their propinquity to foreign territory, and their consequent facility for absorbing emigrants. Thus the Prome district, which in its northern aspect forms our frontier in the valley of the Irrawaddy, has increased its population by no less than 156 per cent. in these 10 years. The Tounghoo district, which is our frontier in the valley of the Sitting (also facing Upper Burmah), has had its population augmented in the same period 115 per cent. The Myanoung district, which adjoins Prome to the south, shows an increase of 81 per cent. The Bassein district, which has drawn, as will be shown hereafter, from Arrakan as well as Upper Burmah, has raised its population by 113 per cent. While the Rangoon district, which is the most southerly and removed from our frontier, has increased by 70 per cent. in the same decade.

21. The population returns from the other two divisions extending over the same 10 years, 1855-56 to 1865-66, fully support the conclusion that they formerly drew their additional population from Upper Burmah and from Pegu so long as it was under Native rule, and that when the latter came under British administration the transfer ceased. Thus intercommunication between Arrakan and the Pegu Division is comparatively easy along their mutual boundary, but when we reach the Northern Frontier of the Pegu Division, running athwart the valley of the Irrawaddy, then the passage from Upper Burmah (Native) above that line to the Arrakan Division is one of considerable difficulty; in fact the Aeng Pass is the only really feasible route leading through the broad range of mountains there separating Arrakan from Burmah Proper. We have shown that while Arrakan under British administration had to compete with Pegu under Native rule, its population increased at an average of 50 per cent. each decade;—but when it has Pegu under British management, as its neighbour, and physical obstacles prevent a supply being drawn from Burmah, as has been the case from 1855-56 to 1865-66, we find the population has only increased from 366,310 to 414,640, or 13 per cent. We have already pointed out that the Bassein district of the Pegu Division, which immediately adjoins Arrakan, has, during this period, increased 113 per cent., and this is probably in some degree due to the reflux of those who had, while Pegu was under Native rule, moved into the Province of Arrakan. Tenasserim, on the other hand, has many routes by which she can draw population from the Native States, and we find that in the period from 1855-56 to 1865-66, this division has increased its population from 254,605 to 430,551, or 68 per cent., a decennial rate as high as any it had attained since its occupation.

22. The foregoing data seem to have established beyond any doubt that, during the whole period of British administration of the provinces of Arrakan, Tenasserim, and Pegu, they have, in addition to an allowed natural increase of population, far higher than we have any historical authority for supposing they ever reached under Native rule, withdrawn and absorbed enormous numbers of people from the neighbouring Native States, which may be summarized as follows:—

Into Tenasserim and Arrakan	1826 to 1855 - -	257,500
„ Pegu	from 1855 to 1865 - - - -	561,439
„ Tenasserim	from do. do. - - -	113,295
	Total - -	932,234

23. Now, looking to specific marks of material progress, to see whether they support the conclusions we would wish to draw, we find that in the Pegu Division during the decade, 1855-56 to 1865-66, the area of assessed cultivation has increased from 539,808 to 991,102 acres, or 83 per cent.; customs from 56,281*l.* to 151,088*l.*; the total revenue from 297,753*l.* to 646,462*l.*; while the entire trade rose from 2,143,100*l.* to 7,300,224*l.* These results fully bear out our argument that increased population and increased prosperity in a country situated and constituted as Burmah is run hand in hand together.

24. Tenasserim also in the past decade has progressed satisfactorily, in accordance with the increase in its population. The assessed area has risen from 181,681 to 273,289 acres; customs from 7,796*l.* to 13,517*l.*; the total revenue from 106,609*l.* to 193,566*l.*; while the entire trade has increased from 836,305*l.* to 1,712,307*l.*

25. Arrakan, on the other hand, shows the effect on her prosperity of having a British instead of a Native administration to contend with as a neighbour. It has been indicated already that physical obstacles stand between Arrakan and Upper Burmah, which do not, and did not, between it and Pegu. We have given the

rapid increase in the population and prosperity of Arrakan up to 1855, but in the decade, to 1865, there is a marked falling off. Assessed lands increased from 353,885 to 377,012 acres; revenue from 127,429*l.* to 190,032*l.*; while trade has falleh from 1,876,998*l.* to 1,395,580*l.*

26. We have hitherto been concerned only to show the undoubted fact that the countries under British administration have possessed advantages so manifest to the population of neighbouring Native States that a steady emigration from them into our territories has continued ever since our Government was established among the Indo-Chinese nations. The original ratio of population to area being very low, while the life-supporting capacity of the soil is very high, this rapid increase of population has produced a remarkable progress in all the elements which go to make up the material prosperity of the country.

27. And when we look to those Native powers which have been our competitors during this period, the picture is reversed. In the dominions of the King of Burmah, including the tributary Shan States, we find everywhere signs of progressive decay; a discontented people abandoning his territory; a decreasing revenue; the area of cultivation lessening yearly; and the weakness of the Government shown in the rebellions and outbreaks which so regularly occur. During this year (1867) had it not been for the rich granaries of Pegu, that supplied Upper Burmah with rice, a famine would have succeeded the Civil war which raged last year. The Natives of Upper Burmah themselves indicate truly the process now being undergone by the British and Native dominions. "Here," they say, "in British Burmah, your villages are becoming towns, but with us in Upper Burmah our towns are becoming villages."

From Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. EDEN, Agent, Governor-General, Rajpootana, to the UNDER SECRETARY to THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department—(Dated Mount Aboo, August 23, 1867.)

I HAVE duly received your demi-official Circular of the 1st ultimo, asking for an expression of my opinion as to whether, in the estimation of Natives, the system of British administration in India possessed any superiority over the method of government pursued in the Independent States.

It is, I conceive, a proposition quite incontestable, and one admitted by every educated and unprejudiced Native who has had opportunity of forming his own conclusions, that our system of administration is incomparably more just, more efficient, and, in most respects, superior, to that which obtains in Native States. For the first time, almost within the annals of Indian history, a government has been established with its foundations laid on broad principles of toleration, equity, and wisdom, in which the wants and rights of the middle and lower classes,—the bulk of the population,—receive just and impartial consideration, in which the rich and powerful can no longer trample down with impunity the poor and the weak, and in which life and property have stronger safeguards than the capricious will of despotic and irresponsible rulers. And I most decidedly concur in the opinion of His Excellency the Viceroy that the masses of the people in British India are more prosperous and more happy, though they may not always realize the fact, than their fellow countrymen living under the sway of their own chiefs.

To show that the superiority of our mode of government is generally admitted, I cannot do better than mention an answer which every Political Officer must have received times beyond number, when suggesting reforms to a Native Chief or his ministers. The soundness and wisdom of the proffered advice and counsel is rarely questioned, but it is urged in reply that a measure of folly, short-sightedness—nay, more, of misgovernment, must be expected in a Native State; in fact, that it is the mere nature of things that it should be so, and that we must not anticipate their administrations to come up to the standard of our own.

Whilst, then, I have no personal doubt as to the solid advantages accruing to our subjects, I cannot say that the popularity of our government is in proportion to those advantages; and the causes are obvious to those who have studied the effects of foreign domination. As very truly remarked in your letter, we are so alien to the population in colour, religion, and every other characteristic,—so great a gulf divides the governors from the governed,—that it would be unreasonable for us to expect the same measure of popularity as accrues to a good Native ruler, or even to a Chief whose administrative merits do not rise above an absence from great vices.

When we seek to comprehend the sentiments of the masses, we must place ourselves on their standing ground; we must remember that they are ignorant, childish, and superstitious to a degree,—creatures whose thoughts and ideas merely flow in a current of traditional habit and custom, trammelled on all sides by caste,—that they are in the main incapable of thinking for themselves, and, like all Asiatics, carried away by ostentatious pomp and display.

To these classes many of our legislative measures, which are expressly intended for their welfare, are incomprehensible and irksome: they would prefer to move along the path trodden for centuries by their forefathers, rather than be troubled with measures of reform and progress, which, in their first stage, are generally accompanied with some little personal sacrifice. Feelings such as these will wear away as education extends; presently, however, they do obtain, and are the natural results of an administration far advanced beyond the understanding of the bulk of the people.

Further, the populace miss, in our government, the pageantry and display exhibited by Native Chiefs; and there is also wanting that bond of sympathy between the rulers and those ruled, which is created by a common belief, and by association in religious customs and festivals to which the masses are so much attached. In fact, a Native administration has to a Native a warmth and geniality, if such terms may be applied, as compared with our government, which, although admitted as more just and equitable in all respects, strikes him as cold, hard, and unimpassioned,—better suited for an educated race born under a northern sky.

There is, too, unquestionably a strong and natural tendency amongst Natives, long subject to our rule, to forget the tyranny and oppression under which they suffered from the despots of their own race; whilst, on the other hand, the petty annoyances of our administration are constantly before their eyes.

To the upper classes, to the priesthood, as well to the bold, ambitious, and unscrupulous, our government is certainly more actively repellent. Power, they feel, they have little or none, and there are but few, if any, careers open to them by which they can obtain it. The soldier can rise to the command of a troop or company; the civilian can advance to the post of "Sudder Ameen," but at these points their hopes must rest content. Since 1857, however, a more liberal policy has been introduced, and, as stated in the Annual Report of this Agency for the past year, the grant of civil and judicial powers to members of the upper classes in Oudh, the Punjab, and elsewhere, and the general improved status in which they are held, has done much towards attaching them to our rule.

In conclusion, I would record that, in spite of the popular feelings above referred to, I am firmly convinced that, if the sense of the people could be taken, there would be found a great preponderance in favour of the continuance of our authority to its transfer to the hands of their own countrymen; and it is, moreover, very certain that when, in the fullness of time, we do withdraw from the Government of British India, our name will be revered, and that our empire will be cherished and remembered as a golden era in Hindoostan, which closed in centuries of anarchy and misrule.

From R. N. CUST, Esq., C.S., Member of Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces, to the UNDER SECRETARY to THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department, Simla—(Dated August 24, 1867.)

I HAVE the honour to reply to your confidential of July 1st, requesting my opinion whether the assertion of Lord Cranborne in the House of Commons that the system of British administration in India possessed, in *the estimation of the Natives*, no superiority over the method of government pursued in the Independent States, is supported by fact.

2. Among others, I read this assertion of Lord Cranborne with astonishment, and, as he can have no personal knowledge on the subject, wondered who were his informants.

3. To arrive at a sound opinion, it is not sufficient to have served one's whole career in the British Provinces, or in the Native States, as the judgment becomes influenced by habit of thought. I began my career in the Protected Sikh States, the very tract alluded to by Sir G. Clerk, and as the Punjab was annexed, I advanced, thus coming into contact with the decaying, but not extinct, principles and elements of Native Government. I traversed the whole of the Punjab during the first year of annexation, visiting Cashmere, while on intimate terms with the

sovereign of the country. At another time I was intimate with the politics of the petty Bundlecund Chiefs. The subject of the respective merits and demerits of Native Governments has constantly been under my consideration. During my furlough I visited Turkey in Asia, with a view of ascertaining whether any system of governing Asiatic nations in a respectable Asiatic way could be discovered.

4. I freely admit the many blots and blemishes of our anglicized system; the over centralizations; the influx of inferior Englishmen; the crushing of all Native talent and enthusiasm by virtually closing the higher ranks of office against them. These are blemishes much easier to point out than to suggest a remedy for.

5. I am on principle opposed to the annexation of a single province or country to our already far-too-extensive dominions; on the contrary, I would, in a systematic process of adjusting boundaries, make over, with the consent of the people, some outlying backward tracts to the more respectable Native States on condition of good government.

6. I admit that the hungry class of Native officials, who long for a lazy easy life, as members of a do-nothing Durbar, or petty rulers of fat districts, would greatly prefer the re-introduction of the Native system; but I doubt very much whether the owner and cultivator of land and the better commercial and manufacturing classes would entertain the same preference. A feeling of nationality might incline them in that direction, but when it came to the point, I doubt if they would vote for Native annexation. In this opinion I am confirmed by Sir Dinkur Rao, who tells me that if the people of Agra were annexed this year to a Native State, they would be sorry for it two years hence.

7. I cannot but think that the worst type of an English-governed State is preferable to the best-governed Native State; the English system will probably improve, and at any rate endure some little time; the Native system, if good for the moment by the accident of one good ruler, will relapse in a few years to a worse state by his demise or expulsion.

8. In a Native State, there is no fixed legislature; no Courts of Justice; little attempt at education; no complete religious freedom; no certain property in land; no public opinion; no enlightened commercial principle; not one of the civilized conveniences of life. I can remember the late Rajah of Puttiala, in many respects an enlightened sovereign, and afterwards a member of the Council of India, considering it a grievance to have a Post Office opened in his chief town. Other States tolerate infanticide, but punish severely the slaughter of kine; other Chiefs refuse to have the dense jungle cut, or to open out roads. The late report on the political administration of the Central India Agency is full of suggestive statements. If any chief ever had the opportunity of qualifying himself for his high position, it was Maharajah Holkar, and yet we find that, in that large kingdom, there is no written Code, and that decrees of Judicial Officers are reversed at pleasure by the Chief.

9. Such Books as the "Punjab Chiefs" lately published at Lahore, and Colonel Sleeman's Book on Oudh, are suggestive of the comparative advantages of the Native State, even when sufficiently large and rich as to enable the Sovereign to entertain proper servants of the State.

10. Since the annexation of Oudh it is known as a fact that hundreds of cultivators who had migrated from that province into an adjacent district have flocked back to their Native villages from Shahjehanpore, Jounpore, and Allahabad. This certainly suggests in some degree the estimation of Natives of the comparative advantages and disadvantages.

11. And if the opportunity of rising to high stations under Government is denied to Natives under British rule, more than reasonably it ought to be, it must, on the other hand, be remembered that *Government service is not everything*—is not the only outlet for genius, education, and industry. It is stated to be a misfortune for a country to have a small place under Government considered the *summum bonum* of the youth. But under British rule a career is opened to the merchant, the manufacturers, the lawyer, the landed proprietor, and the contractor, and numerous other honorable and lucrative professions.

12. If we cannot make an attempt to give India as good a government as lies within our power, we had better take to our ships. What would be said in Europe if we allowed India to be governed on low principles as a kind of "culture-enterprise," such as the Dutch maintain in Java? We must act up to our lights, and to the genius of our institutions. I have heard the Penal Code abused; but if we are to have a Criminal Law at all, it is as well to have one based on sound principles, and set out with logical accuracy.

13. In Europe, India and the English rule have became synonymous. Is nothing to be said in the cause of morality when a comparison is made between the two systems? Those who, during the last twenty years, have seen the Augæan stables of the Palaces of Delhi, Lahore, and Lucknow, emptied and exposed to public gaze, may perhaps doubt as to the excellence of pure Native institutions. Let the Pension List of a newly annexed province, such as the Punjab, be examined, and the varieties of licentious, adulterous, and incestuous connexions be considered, the issue of which have to be provided for. Let the trail left behind an extinct Native State of courtezans, fiddlers, astrologers, priests, dancers, and still lower grades of infamy, be examined. In the last census of these provinces, two thousand eunuchs are reported; perhaps in the next decade, owing to the extinction of the palaces of Delhi and Lucknow, this wretched class may cease to exist.

14. And it is in vain to say that Delhi and Lucknow are exceptionally bad, where all depends on the accident of one irresponsible ruler, and there are no recognized principles, all may be equally bad. When there is the happy accident of an honest and able minister, the fate of Dinkur Rao and Salar Jung is always to be anticipated.

15. I do not, in conclusion, admit that, in the estimation of right-thinking Natives, or of Natives who are able to form an opinion at all, there can be a general well-grounded preference for a Native State of the ordinary type; nor do I think that, after admitting all our shortcomings, there can be any doubt as to the vast superiority of the British system, and I write this without any object but that of recording my opinion on the eve of leaving India for ever.

NOTE by Colonel R. J. MEADE, Governor-General's Agent, for Central India, on the General Question of the Opinion entertained by the Natives of India, as to the Superiority, or otherwise, of the System of British Administration of India, over that which obtains in the Independent States—(Dated Indore Presidency, August 24, 1867.)

I CANNOT conceive it possible for a moment that any unprejudiced person, who has had the opportunity of observing the system or method of Native Government, as practised at the present time, and of comparing it with that of the British Administration of India, could seriously attempt to draw any comparison between them in favour of the former.

2. The general principle on which the British system of administration is based is the establishment of law and order within its limits, its object being the security of life and property therein, and a sincere desire to do the greatest good to the greatest number of its subjects, and to act justly towards all.

3. The principle of Native rule is essentially different, being based on the will of the Chief, who is bound by no law but that of his own caprices, and who regards his subjects and their property as wholly at his disposal.

4. In the British territory, the law is supreme, and all, high and low, are subject to its authority. It is administered by officials whose integrity is unquestioned, and whose proceedings and judgments are, as a rule, regarded with respect and confidence; though it is not to be denied that there are many points in connexion with the practices of the Police, and the lower class of Native Omlah, and also the Procedure in the Courts, which are believed to be at times productive of much oppression to those affected by them, and which, though checked by the higher Officers to the best of their ability, render this branch of the administration less popular than it might and ought to be.

5. In Native territory there is no fixed law or procedure; where rules or regulations for the guidance of the Courts and State officials have been issued by the Chiefs they are but little attended to, and are wholly disregarded by the ruler himself, a pleasure.

The judicial Officers and all the State officials are, as a rule, underpaid; and are, with but rare exceptions, thoroughly corrupt, and the decisions of the former command neither confidence nor respect.

In fact, there is no such thing in any Native State with which I am acquainted as an "administration of justice" properly so called. Decisions and decrees are given, but the instances are rare in which they have not been more or less influenced by corrupt causes; and their due enforcement or execution is, as a rule, almost wholly dependent on the exercise of further influences of the same nature; while there are, in all Native States, individuals and classes exempt from the jurisdiction of the Courts,

and against whom injured parties have, practically, no means of redress, and the ruler at pleasure annuls or suspends the proceedings that have been taken in any case in which he takes a personal interest, or is influenced to such a course by those around him.

6. In the British territory the revenue system is based on fixed and equitable principles. The assessment on the land is light, and the proprietors and cultivators are secured against all demands or oppressive exactions of any description whatever in excess of such assessment.

The rights of property in the land are carefully defined and protected, and every encouragement is held out to landholders to improve their estates, the value of which is thus continually increasing, while the extension of cultivation has been immense, and is still progressing.

7. In Native territory the revenue system—except in some few States in which there has been an attempt at imitation of that in force in British territory—is of a far different nature.

The assessment on the land is much heavier than that levied in British districts, and the landholders and cultivators are liable besides to all sorts of further demands and exactions from the State farmer, or revenue or other officials, which there is no resisting, and for which there is no redress, but which are most oppressive, and greatly impoverish the class they affect.

The right of property in the land is not generally recognized, and where it is so in a modified form, the holder has no security whatever against the arbitrary proceedings of the Chief or his officials, which may at any time, on any pretext, deprive him of his lands and reduce him to penury.

Hence there is no inducement to the class of landholders to invest money in the improvement of their holdings, or to other parties to undertake the reclamation of unowned and depopulated tracts, and the result is seen in the enormous extent of uncultivated land of the best quality in many Native States, which is allowed to lie waste, and is turned to no account whatever.

8. In the foregoing observations, I have remarked on the chief points of difference in the British and Native administrations which doubtless affect the mass of the people more than any others; and if they alone were to be taken into consideration, the immense superiority of the British system, and of the results it secures to those subject to it could hardly be questioned.

9. But there are many other points which form prominent features in the British system of administration, and are essential to the progress, the comfort, and the convenience of the people ruled by it, which are either wholly wanting, or are but faintly or imperfectly imitated in Native territory.

10. Such are—

The construction of roads and communications, and the other Public Works carried on at the cost of the State;

The provision and diffusion of the means of education, and the encouragement the Public Service affords to those who qualify themselves by suitable study and preparation for employment in its various branches;

The establishment of hospitals and dispensaries;

The great encouragement and facilities afforded to traffic by the freedom from all internal transit duties, and the general security of the high roads, and suppression of heinous crime of a predatory character, which latter still flourishes in many Native States.

11. Much more might be added on this subject; but what has been already stated may, it seems to me, be fairly deemed sufficient to show that the superiority of the British system is so vast in all essentials as to leave ground for no just comparison whatever between it and the Native system, and that, on this score, there ought to be no question that the *masses* of the people, which include the vast numbers composing the trading, the agricultural, and the labouring classes are in every respect far better off, more prosperous, and more happy in British territory than they could possibly be under any Native ruler.

12. With respect to the views and feelings of the Natives generally on this question, it is not to be supposed that the supersession of Native by British rule could be acceptable to those classes which have been reduced by it from a position of dominance and privilege, and placed on a par with those they had previously been accustomed to regard as inferiors, and over whom they had exercised an oppressive and unquestioned authority.

13. Such are the relatives and connexions, or their descendants, of the feudal and minor Chiefs, and their personal and family retainers; the State nobles and officials, the military and religious classes, and, lastly, the large number of followers of all descriptions who are attached to persons of these various classes in all Native States, and obtain a subsistence from them without the necessity for exertion on their own part.

14. There can be no question that most of these classes regard the British rule with more or less disfavour, whether they belong to territories which have been absorbed and brought under its operations, or to those still subject to Native government; the feeling in the former case continuing, not unnaturally, to be, to some extent, entertained by the descendants of those who were originally more directly affected by the change; while, in the latter, it is rather dormant than active, unless excited by some special cause.

15. In addition to the above, there must be a large class of persons in British and Native territory possessed of more than ordinary ability or ambition, who are not disposed to turn their attention to the ordinary business of their fellows, but court a life of political or other adventure, which may afford them the means of the advancement to which they aspire.

To this class the British rule not merely affords no field for the attainment of their desires in the territories subject to it, but even, so far as its influence extends thereto, bars, or at least greatly limits, their chances of success in the Native States, as it will not permit the disorders in them amidst which such chances flourish, and which are indeed essential to the projects and hopes of such aspirants.

16. Again, the inflexible nature of the British system, in all its branches, departments, and institutions, the unvarying manner in which its tremendous and resistless power is exercised under our law with one object, and as if by one man, and its inability to accommodate itself in any way to the individual tastes or interests of the persons or classes over whom it rules, as well as its non-liability to be affected by the influences so universally prevalent and recognised, and so patent, in all Native communities, and so generally acceptable to the Native mind; these features of the system, beyond all doubt, are more or less distasteful and repellent to many of those subject to its operation, especially in the upper classes.

17. Lastly, there is an undoubted tendency on the part of Natives generally, whether in British or Native territory, to magnify and exaggerate the existing inconveniences or causes for dissatisfaction under British rule, which have been already glanced at, and to forget the terrible miseries their forefathers had to endure in the days of Native Government, when the country was a prey to universal disorder, brought about by the excesses and gross mismanagement of its rulers, and the people had neither protection nor security for their persons or property, and in many parts led a life little better than that of wild beasts.

18. A really good Native ruler, swayed by principles of justice, and moderation, and qualified, in all essential respects, for the duties and responsibilities of his position, would no doubt, if he could establish *and work* an administration framed accordingly, enjoy some important advantages which no foreign government could possess or command; and his rule under such circumstances would naturally be in many respects more popular than the British; but experience shows that the chances are so greatly against the possibility of the establishment of such a Native administration in any of the independent Chiefships, that it would, in my opinion, be quite bootless taking it into account in considering this question.

19. There have been various occasions, dating from Sir J. Malcolm's settlement of Malwa, on which this Office has had opportunities of obtaining an insight into the superior advantages of the British over the Native system of government, and of the estimation on that head of the people generally concerned, in the case of Native Districts and States ceded either temporarily or permanently to the British Government, or taken for a time under British management, and also of British lands transferred in exchange to Native governments.

20. I will allude cursorily to some of them here—

1st. The case of the District of Nimar, which was literally a desert when taken over by the British Government in 1818; its lands being depopulated and waste, and the condition of its people most miserable and hopeless.

Under British rule it had, in 1864, when it passed from the control of this Office to that of the administration of the Central Provinces, become a

thriving and most interesting district; its people being as well off as probably those of any of our older Provinces, and thoroughly contented with, and grateful for, the security and blessing they had enjoyed since coming under the British Government.

The proposed transfer of a portion of this district to Holkar has caused a very painful feeling amongst the people who regard the measure with the most intense dissatisfaction.

It is to be observed that these people have had the fullest opportunities of judging of the respective advantages and disadvantages of the British and Native systems, being, it may be said, under both, as their lands are surrounded by Native territory, and there can be no doubt of their views on the question.

2nd. The case of the Pergunnah of Shoojawulpore, which came under British rule about the same time as Nimar, and was transferred to Gwalior in exchange in 1832, against the wishes of the people, who petitioned and protested against the measure, and almost went into rebellion on its being carried out.

3rd. The case of the districts assigned by the Gwalior State, for the maintenance of the Gwalior Contingent, in 1844, and previously.

The introduction of British rule into these districts, some of which were notoriously unsettled and unmanageable by the Durbar, quite altered the character and condition of their people; and when, in 1861, arrangements were ordered for the restoration of some of them to Maharajah Scindia, under the operation of the Treaty of 12th December 1860, the objections and remonstrances to the measure of those concerned were most vehement, and their feeling at its being carried out is still one of extreme regret and dissatisfaction.

4th. The case of the Dhar Pergunnah of Bairseeah, which was made over to the Bhopal State in 1860, after having for many years been under British management. The measure was distasteful to all classes of the people, and caused much dissatisfaction amongst them, which, in the case of some of the Hukdars, has led them to oppose the wishes, and to resist the authority, of the Bhopal government in a way that has given rise to a great deal of trouble.

21. In the numerous instances of the temporary management of Native States by British Officers, and the introduction into some of these States of the British system in a modified form, the result has been most satisfactory both as regarded the advantage to the States, and the light in which the measures adopted were viewed by the people generally.

The improvements, in every respect, introduced under British supervision, have been most striking; but unhappily few of them have been allowed to survive for any length of time after the restoration of the charge to the Native ruler; and though the people generally thoroughly appreciate them and desire their maintenance, there is no confidence, and but little expectation amongst them, in any case, of such a result.

My experience of the estimation in which the temporary British management of Native States, as contrasted with the rule of the Native Chiefs, is held by the people generally, is wholly in favor of the former. Years after such management has been withdrawn, it is spoken of, and alluded to, with expressions of satisfaction, and of sorrow at its having been replaced by the Native system.

22. I will only add that it is impossible to pass from Native to British territory, and *vice versâ*, without being struck by the vast difference, in every essential respect, between them and the people inhabiting them; and no British Officer, or servant of the Crown, can, I should think, note this difference without a feeling of pride and satisfaction.

Major Osborne, C. B., Political Agent, Bhopal.
Captain Bannerman, Bheel Agent.
Captain Cadell, V. C., Deputy Bheel Agent.

23. I will append to this Note reports from the Officers named in the margin on this question, which will be found corroborative of what is stated therein.

I hoped to have been able to furnish one also from the Political Agent of Gwalior, the circumstances of that State affording a better field for remarks on the subject than those of any of the other Chiefships of Central India, but it has not yet come to hand.

I trust it may follow shortly.

From MAJOR WILLOUGHBY OSBORNE, C.B., Political Agent in Bhopal, to GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S Agent, for Central India—(No. 138, dated Bhopal Agency, Sehore, July 29, 1867.)

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your confidential circular calling for opinion regarding the popularity of our rule, as compared with that of the Native Chiefs.

2. There is no doubt that our Courts are not so popular as they might be, chiefly on account of the numerous Courts of Appeal, and the technicalities of our law. Our under-paid Native officials too often take advantage of the ignorance of the people to make money, but the intelligence and zeal of our officials to a great extent keep these evils in check.

3. In Native States, not only are all the Omlahs corrupt, but the presiding officer too; and though the farce of a trial is gone through, the decision is generally in favour of the person who has paid most. In these Courts the poor have no chance of justice.

4. In our districts the farmer knows how much he will have to pay to the Government. In Native States, though the assessment is not lower than ours, the farmer is liable to all kinds of exactions. The Chief, should he make a tour, has to be presented with a large nuzzuranah. The Sir Soobah, Amil, or Soobah has to be treated in the same way. A birth, marriage, or death in the family of the Chief leads to another exaction. The death of a Chief's elephant leads to another tax called Hateewan, &c.

5. These taxes in themselves are heavy enough; but when it is considered that, in a Native State, every official through whose hands the tax has to pass expects to reap some benefit from it, the amount realized from the unfortunate farmer becomes nearly doubled, and he never knows how much revenue he may be called on to pay.

6. That our jails are far from being perfect there is no doubt, but no one, who has any knowledge of Native States, can help denouncing the dens of filth and injustice known as jails in Native States, in which prisoners are too frequently tortured, and, unless they can afford to pay the officials, always badly fed, barely clothed, closely packed, and kept filthily dirty. Two instances have come to my notice in Bhopal, which is ruled as well as any Native State in India,—one in which a man, by name Rambuccus, the son of a Talookdar of Bairseesah, was seized when *en route* to petition the Viceroy and sent to Bhopal under a guard: the treatment he received was such that he has entirely lost the use of one leg. The other was one in which a person called Kuramut Khan was seized on suspicion of quarrelling in the street: he was acquitted, but he left the lock-up deprived of the use of one hand.

7. During the 15 years I have been employed in Native States, I have never met an instance of a respectable farmer leaving our territory to settle in a Native State. Occasionally revenue-defaulters escape from our territory into Native States and settle down; on the other hand, I know of many cases of the reverse having occurred. From the Bairseesah Pergunnah, made over to the Begum of Bhopal, many farmers have left and gone into the Hoshungabad and other neighbouring British territory.

8. If the Natives generally preferred the rule of their own Chiefs to that of our own Government, the Native States ought to be densely populated, and land valuable; but experience shows us, not only that the Native States are not densely populated, but that thousands of acres of valuable land are being uncultivated merely for want of labour.

9. In 1857–58 rebellion raged in our lastly-acquired province, whilst our oldest possessions remained in perfect peace. In 1832 the Pergunnah of Shoojawulpore was made over to the Gwalior Durbar, in exchange for land adjoining the Saugor and Nerbudda territories. The people petitioned against the transfer individually and collectively, describing it in their petition as a grievous calamity. Though Major Henley's assessment of the pergunnah was very heavy, the potails, on learning that an official was being sent by the Durbar to receive charge of the pergunnah, came forward and stated that, if the object of the British Government in making over the pergunnah was a pecuniary one, they would guarantee an increase of Rs. 35,000 per annum (*i.e.*, 35 per cent.) provided they were allowed to remain under British rule.

10. Their petition not meeting with any success, a large number of them left the pergunnah and collected in a neighbouring village belonging to Indore; an outbreak was imminent, and was only prevented by the interference of the Resident at Indore. Mr. Wilkinson in reporting the matter, wrote—"if the ryots who were "hitherto remarkable for their quiet submission are not protected from the rapacity "and exactions of the local authorities, they will be driven into rebellion and other "lawless acts."

11. For many years after the transfer, the ryots and others constantly petitioned the Political Agent against the oppressive acts of Scindia's officials, and the complaints even now are frequent.

12. The pergunnah of Bairseesah was given to her Highness the Begum of Bhopal in 1861: the people have ever since overwhelmed the political agent with complaints. The assessment of the pergunnah has been more than doubled. Those holding hereditary rights which had been never disputed by our Government during the 40 odd years it was under our administration, are now called on to produce their original grants, though their rights were guaranteed to them by the late agent, Governor-General, for Central India. During my march through the pergunnah, I am always beset with petitions, and go where I may in the district, I find the population much decreased by emigration.

13. The numerous guaranteed Thakoors in these parts are most tenacious of their rights to be under the order of our Government, and not answerable to the more powerful Chiefs.

From CAPTAIN P. W. BANNERMAN, Bheel Agent, to the GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S Agent for Central India — (Dated Bhopawur Agency, August 1, 1867).

In reply to your confidential circular dated 8th July, transmitting a communication from the Foreign Office in Calcutta, I have the honour to state that there can be no question, in my humble opinion, that the general masses of the population are undoubtedly more prosperous in British territory than in States under Native rule. They enjoy a settled government, are moderately taxed, and possess far greater security of life and property than in any Native State whatever.

2. There are two points in which the system of British administration differs most essentially from the method pursued in Independent States, *viz.*, the revenue and judicial branches.

3. As regards the first of these, there is no doubt whatever that, under the British Government, the landholder and the agricultural class generally have been treated by the Government with every consideration and kindness, the assessment is light, and individuals holding land have the satisfaction of knowing that they are liable only for the fixed assessment which will not be altered capriciously or hastily, and that they will be entitled to some compensation for any improvements they may have made.

4. On the other hand, under a Native Government the assessment generally is very heavy; for although the actual sum demanded as the Government due may not be excessive, the contributions which, under a variety of heads, the cultivator has to pay make up a large amount; the holders of land also have no guarantee that the assessment will remain unaltered even for the time originally fixed.

5. The system of short leases (very frequently, if not generally, only for a year), which is so much in favour with Native Chiefs, is in every way objectionable; the renter has but little interest in the improvement of the country, and looks only to his own profit.

6. The pecuniary interest also which the governing class have in the country is most prejudicial to a good system of government. Self-interest and self-enjoyment are always preferred to the prosperity of either the present or future generations.

7. There may have been a few instances in which ryots under the British Government have migrated to a Native State; but these are quite the exception, whilst instances of the reverse are far more general.

8. With regard to the judicial branch; as I have been nearly all my service (13 years out of 15) in the Native States of Rajpootana and Central India, I am not in a position to offer an opinion as to the light in which the working of our Courts is generally viewed by our own subjects. When, however, I have discussed the question with Natives of both the higher and lower classes, the defects they have

complained of are the vexatious delays of our Courts, and the manner in which they assert the law can be strained.

9. In the purely governed Native States, with which I have any intimate acquaintance, there is but a very feeble attempt to administer justice in the strict sense of the word.

10. The principle with us, that in the eye of the law all are equal, is not only practically ignored in a Native State, but is positively distasteful to all who exercise any authority therein. They cannot understand, even in theory, far less attempt to carry into practice, the idea, that justice ought to be meted out equally to the noble and the ryot.

11. I can, in two instances, speak with personal knowledge of the views with which the general mass of the population regards a transfer from British to Native rule.

12. I was Assistant-Superintendent at Neemuch when the exchange question with the Maharajah Scindia first came under discussion, and the almost unanimous wish of the people was to remain as they were, and many were the verbal appeals made to me to this effect by men of all classes. They all viewed with dread the uncertain demands which would in all probability be made on them in the shape of nuzzuranah, extra cesses for one thing or another, and were most averse to the transfer. I have never been near Neemuch since that time, but I have constantly met or heard from old Native acquaintances, and they all agree in regretting the removal of the British superintendency. They assert that neither life nor property is so safe as it was, that nothing is being done in the way of roads, and that the administration of the Courts is dilatory and uncertain to a degree.

13. In Dhar again, which is under my immediate supervision, the mass of the people have little faith in the administration of justice, and from the complaints I have received, I fear they have little reason to have any, and they are, I believe, sincere in their expressions of regret that the system observed during the British management of the State is no longer in force.

14. The clever and ambitious men—the military and the religious class—have undoubtedly a larger and more congenial sphere for their abilities in a Native State than under the British Government, whilst, as regards the trading and agricultural class, I believe them to be much better off in every way under our administration than under Native rule.

From CAPTAIN T. CADELL, V.C., Deputy Bheel Agent and Political Assistant, to the AGENT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL FOR CENTRAL INDIA—(Dated Camp, Indore, July 31, 1867.)

In reply to your confidential communication on the question of the method of government in Native States possessing, in the estimation of the Natives, any superiority over the system of British administration in India, I beg to state that I have had an excellent opportunity of forming a judgment on this question.

When I assumed the appointment of Assistant Political Agent in Nimar in 1861, the subject of giving a portion of that province to Holkar was mooted, and I cannot describe the alarm and the detestation of the measure evinced by the inhabitants of the pergunnahs which it was supposed would be made over. The great majority of the inhabitants were cultivators; and as they had been under British Government for forty years, their aversion to the measure might have been ascribed to the dislike to change of any kind generally evinced by that class, but that this was not the reason was clearly proved to me afterwards.

On the transfer of Nimar to the Central Provinces in 1864, my connection with the district ceased; but I had occasion to march through a large portion of it in the following year. By that time the new system of administration had been introduced, and they naturally did not at once appreciate its advantages, as they had been most happy and contented under the old system. They were apprehensive of further changes, and did not fully comprehend those that had already taken place. Notwithstanding all this, their aversion to being made over to Holkar was evidently as great as ever.

I had numerous conversations on the subject with all classes of the community; indeed, it was almost the only subject of conversation at the time, and all were of one mind in the matter. As I had ceased to be connected with Nimar, and had

never been connected with the Central Provinces, the opinions they expressed could not have been with any view of pleasing me.

In taking the above statement into consideration, it ought to be borne in mind that the inhabitants of British Nimar are well acquainted with the manner in which administration is carried in the Holkar State, as Nimar is conterminous with that State on three sides, and British and Holkar villages are in some parts much intermixed. Moreover, the inhabitants of both districts are composed of exactly the same classes, and are on most intimate terms with each other.

The Native State of Burwanee has been under British management since 1861; but it would hardly be worth while to compare its previous with its present condition, as it has been even worse managed under its Native ruler than Native States usually are.

It will be sufficient to say that all its peaceable and respectable inhabitants are as averse to being surrendered to the rule of their Rana as those of Nimar are to being made over to Holkar.

MEMORANDUM by W. C. ANDERSON, Esq., Survey and Settlement Commissioner, Southern Mahratta Country—(Dated August 24, 1867.)

I ENCLOSE the memorandum called for by your letter of the 1st July last. I regret that a very severe illness should have made me so late in sending it in.

Though undoubtedly people do occasionally grumble and contrast unfavourably British rule with that which formerly prevailed, I exceedingly doubt if the grumblers themselves really mean what they say, or would, for one moment, even when smarting under some special annoyance, set British rule, as a whole, below that formerly or at present existing under Native administration.

2. In the southern half of the Bombay Presidency, with which alone I have an intimate knowledge, the Nizam is the only great and purely Native State, with the administration of which the people are cognizant; and most certainly the lot of the people there is not envied by the inhabitants of our territories. A petitioner in which desiring to paint his grievances in the strongest terms, winds up with the assertion that his wrong is "such as could only be parallelled in the Mogalee," or "worse than this is not done in the Mogalee." The "Mogalee," or Nizam's government, though it has greatly improved in character of late years, being, from old tradition, considered to express the acme of misrule.

3. It may be asked why the inhabitants did not emigrate into adjacent British territory at the time such misrule prevailed in the Nizam's provinces. First, a Native is a very long-suffering animal, and his local affections are very strong; he will endure much before he makes up his mind to permanently leave the spot where he and his forefathers have lived and died from time immemorial. Next, in the worst managed Native State there was always a certain admixture of good and bad treatment of the ruled, what the people call *nurm gurm;* gross oppression did not come home to every one, and he who escaped for the time had a certain satisfaction in seeing suffering touch his neighbours without reaching himself. There was too always the chance of a stroke of luck from the caprice of some great man. Stories of poor men suddenly made rich exercised a powerful influence over the minds of a very ignorant people with habits unsettled by centuries of doubt as to who would reap where one sowed, and a consequent marked aversion to steady labor. Consequently, the imaginary "chances for a poor man" appeared much greater under the fast and loose Native, than under the steady equality of British, administration, which holds out no hopes, except as the reward of steady persistent labour.

4. Again, it was no easy matter for a person, desirous of emigrating from Native into British territory, to carry out his intention. The ryot is the milch cow of the State; the object is to get all that can be got out of him, but not to drive him away. It was easy to set up a plausible claim against any intending emigrant, the enforcement of which would strip him of all his property. The Plan of Native administration, wherever I have come in contact with it, always provides the materials for the setting up such a claim, in the system of accumulating outstanding balances against individuals resulting from a certain portion of an unrealizable land assessment being foregone every year, but still remaining as an available claim against the ryot. Even where this device did not systematically exist, from the days of Naboth's vineyard downward, in Eastern countries, the powers that be would never find any difficulty in establishing some claim against a poor man.

5. Still it must not be supposed that, in spite of all obstacles, emigration from Native States into British territory does not occur on this side of India; the contrary is a fact notorious to every one whose duties have led him to spend much time among frontier villages. Statistics of emigrants into British territory are not available, as no more account is kept of incomers than of outgoers: to obtain returns of any value for a series of years past from the frontier villages would be almost an impossibility: It would be necessary to ascertain the motives inducing each case of emigration both to and from Native territory, before any true conclusion could be drawn.

6. The jagheers and principalities of the Southern Mahratta Country should exhibit model specimens of the advantages of Native administration. They vary in area from 100 to about 800 square miles, and are thus not too extensive to preclude considerable personal control, on the part of the rulers, over every detail of the administration. Their powers are full, and they manage the internal affairs of their States unchecked by British authority, except in cases of gross and notorious misgovernment. These States, which are of more than average fertility of soil, were secured from foreign aggression, consequently their whole surplus revenues, after providing for the legitimate expenses of the State, were available for internal improvements which, however, were entirely neglected. Thirty years ago these Chiefs were, I think, without exception, deeply involved in debt arising from personal extravagance. In some cases economy was enforced by the urgency of the British representative; in other cases the revenues were temporarily sequestered; in two cases long minorities occurred, during which the territory was managed by a Regency supervised by the British representative which resulted in the young Chief attaining his majority and succeeding to the management of his principality, not only free of debt, but with an accumulation in his treasury equal to three or four years' revenue. In one of these cases, Jumkhundee, the young Chief was very carefully educated. He reads, writes, and speaks, English with the greatest facility. In both these cases the whole accumulated revenue was squandered, within 10 years of accession, in personal extravagance by the Chief, and only two months back a large body of the ryots, inhabitants of the territory of the Jumkhundee Chief, put in a formal protest and petition to the Political Agent against the exactions attempted by their Ruler in a recent personal visit of his to the talooka they inhabited. It may easily be understood that no ordinary pressure on the part of the Chief would induce his subjects to resort to such an open act of remonstrance.

7. So far from the people of these Southern Mahratta Country States preferring their own form of administration to ours, in the point most closely touching the bulk of the people—the agricultural population—they have given the Chiefs no rest till they consented to allow a revenue settlement of their territories similar to that introduced in the adjacent British territories. The majority of the Chiefs in independent management of their estates have already agreed to this settlement being made by our Survey Department, and some of the settlements have been carried into effect. The remainder will not be long able to refrain from consenting to a similar measure.

8. I append an extract from correspondence which passed some years back relating to the past revenue management of certain lapsed Jagheer Districts, which, as far as the general system goes, is equally applicable to the ordinary management of such States even now. The ryots have, however, in the last thirty years, increased in intelligence, and would not tamely submit to what in old times would have been borne in silence. So far the reflection of our rule has benefited the people in adjacent foreign territory.

9. When the Raichore Doab, which had been part of the Assigned Districts of Hyderabad and under British administration for some eight years, was about to be restored to the Nizam in 1861, a petition against the measure was, I heard, sent in to the Resident at Hyderabad. It may be most justly urged that it is very easy to get up petitions for or against anything in India; but there could be no doubt whatever about the feeling of the masses of the people there on the subject of their restoration to Native rule.

10. I was myself in the north of Mysore this year at the time of the arrival of the news of the intention to continue the Native dynasty. The intelligence was certainly not received with unmixed pleasure by the masses of the people, or without sinister anticipations for the future. The recollection of what they suffered thirty-five years ago, when the Rajah's administration was unchecked, had not passed away. Of course it may be said that the real sentiments of the people would be concealed from us; but my impression is that, on the whole, the people of this country—the lower and

middle classes—are remarkably outspoken and unreticent to whose who meet them familiarly, and who they do not suspect of asking questions for some special purpose.

11. Lastly, I think I may adduce the general tenor of the Native Press on this side of India as to the feeling of the more educated classes regarding the comparative advantages of our rule over its predecessors. The independence of this Native Press verges on license; there is not the slightest hesitation in freely discussing and pointing out any defect in our administration; and it must be remembered that the educated classes of Natives are not, in one respect, those from whom the most impartial judgment might be expected, as they must look on us as filling the places which they might, under Native rule, look to occupy themselves.

12. In the British dominions the people see education fostered; useful internal improvements in full progress everywhere; general security for life and property; a wide-spread diffusion of material prosperity; and, on the whole, every man uninterfered with and left free to follow his own pleasure. These advantages, which may be said to exclusively attach to the British territories, are perhaps tempered with some occasional inconveniences and annoyances, especially in the procedure of our Courts of law; but taking the balance of the whole, no Native of reasonable intelligence will, I believe, hesitate for one moment as to which form of administration, the past or present, Native or British, he gives the preference.

EXTRACT of LETTER from CAPTAIN W. C. ANDERSON, Superintendent, Revenue Survey, Southern Mahratta Country, to REVENUE SURVEY COMMISSIONER—(No. 267, dated July 26, 1853.)

48. UNDER our Government the land measures and rates obtaining under the Nepaneekur were for want of others continued in use. The assessment on the superior description of land was in general very high. Under the Native system, though the assessment is nominally fixed, it is in practice anything but so. A bargain is made with the ryot from year to year, and he either gets his land at a rate lower than the standard rate, which reduction is known under the name of "Khund Tola," or, if possible, he is induced to engage at the standard, receiving as a make-weight a tract of poor land rent-free, or at a nominal assessment. A large uncollectable balance is also allowed to remain outstanding from year to year, advantage being taken of any very favorable season to collect as much as possible. The threat of enforcing his claim on this outstanding balance is used by the jagheerdar to compel the ryot to continue to cultivate. The jagheerdar always having a large margin on his side, limits his demands alone by the capacity of the ryot to meet them, and the ryot's capacity is measured alone by the conscience of the jagheerdar. In some jagheers they are ground down to their last rupee, and in others, where a more liberal policy prevails, enjoy considerable ease. A minute knowledge of the means of every cultivator is the basis of the Native system, under which the revenue of a district may be raised to an amount otherwise unattainable, and yet without actually ruining a single ryot. The acquisition of capital is, however, impossible: there is no incentive to exertion, and progress of any kind is not to be looked for.

In relation to Uthnee Talooka Settlement, Belgaum Collectorate.

71. As before mentioned, this mehal composed part of the estate of Purushram Bhow Sahib, of Tasgaum, and lapsed to Government on his death in 1849. He was very deeply involved in debt, and his whole estates were mortgaged. This mehal had been for 14 years, previous to the Tasgaum Chief's death, mortgaged nominally to a wealthy sowcar, named Narayen Rao Anunt Walunbeh, but in reality to two karkoons of the sowcar who were designated Kumavisdars, and on whom civil and criminal jurisdiction over this district was conferred. It is not very probable that people of this kind would consider the welfare of the ryots; their sole object would be to get as much as possible out of them, and to this end in fact their whole energies were exerted. The supreme authority still remained with the Chief, and to him accounts were yearly preferred by these two karkoons, and remissions sent up to him for sanction. When sanctioned, and a corresponding deduction made from the net revenue in his accounts with them, a similar amount of remission was by no means extended to the ryots; little or nothing was actually remitted, though payment of what could not be realised at the time might be postponed, and the sum remain as an outstanding balance, the threat of exacting which would be used to deter the ryots from throwing up their land. The extent to which this system was carried may be understood from the fact that, when this district lapsed to Govern-

In relation to Yadwar Mehal Settlement, Collectorate Belgaum.

ment, the outstanding balances in the ten Government villages amounted to no less than Rs. 78,026: the average gross revenue during the first three years of our rule being Rs. 8,414, of which about one-tenth was remitted. And it did not always occur that the demands of the mortgagees alone were to be dealt with by the ryots, as the Chief, when hard pushed, is said to have secretly collected what he could on his own account. At last, in consequence of the repeated complaints against the two mortgagees, a karkoon was appointed on the part of Government, with the consent of the Chief, to overlook the revenue affairs of the mehal, which induced some amelioration in the state of the people. This system lasted for three years, and ceased very shortly before the death of the Chief.

EXTRACT of LETTER from CAPTAIN G. WINGATE, Revenue Survey Commissioner, to COLLECTOR OF BELGAUM—(No.577, dated August 24, 1853.)

5. Captain Anderson gives a very clear account of the past revenue management of the three districts. The Hoongoond Talooka has been under Government management since 1818; but the Uthnee Talooka and also the Yadwar division are formed of lapsed jagheers and have only fallen in of late years. Captain Anderson's description of the revenue management of Uthnee and Yadwar under the jagheerdars may, I think, be relied on as correct in its general features, and the wretched picture of misrule which he places before us is, I think, particularly worthy of consideration at the present time, when the ryotwar system and revenue management of this Presidency have been brought into most unmerited disrepute by the evidence of late witnesses in Parliament, and by writers on the India question who have had little or no practical acquaintance with the system, and no opportunities of forming a correct judgment as to its merits or defects.

6. I have had unusually favourable opportunities, during the last few years especially, of observing the much lauded results of settling with zemindars or middlemen for villages or talookas in the gross, instead of with the actual proprietors and cultivators; and what I have learned of the working of the revenue management of the great jagheerdars of the Southern Mahratta Country, of the Khotes of Rutnagherry, and of the Talookdars of Guzerat, has greatly strengthened my previous convictions as to the immeasurable superiority of the system of management for the field assessments of our Presidency, which has gradually been raised on the foundations laid broad and deep by the wisdom of a Munro and an Elphinstone.

7. I have everywhere found that the actual proprietors and cultivators of the soil, with the aid of the village money-lenders, are the real creators of all the wealth to be found in the country, and that it is a grievous delusion to imagine that their efforts are at all assisted by the intervention of middlemen. These, whether Jagheerdars, Khotes, or Talookdars, I have found to be too generally quite indifferent to the welfare of the inferior landlords, and either sunk in sloth and sensual indulgence, or greedy of money for purely selfish objects. The fostering care which they are so generally said to take care of their ryots may exist, and does, I do not doubt, in rare instances; but a selfish rapacity, aggravated by the overwhelming debt in which they are almost everywhere plunged, and by the clamorous crowd of greedy relatives and sycophants by whom they are surrounded, is, I should say, the distinguishing characteristic of the middlemen or great landlords of our Presidency.

EXTRACT of LETTER from H. W. REEVES, Esq., Acting Revenue Commissioner, Southern Division,* to SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY—(No. 277, dated January 23, 1854.)

9. With regard to the observations* of Captain Wingate on the past management of Uthnee and Yadwar, I venture to state, after several years' acquaintance with the management of landholders of the Southern Mahratta country, that there is no greater mistake than that into which many persons have fallen of contrasting Government villages unfavourably with those of landholders. I have had several years of personal acquaintance with the revenue management of the Jagheerdars and Enamdars of the Southern Mahratta country, and I very confidently assert that the alienated villages will bear no comparison with those belonging to Government in any single particular. The ryots of

* Paragraphs 5 to 7.

* And previously Collector of Belgaum and Political Agent, Southern Mahratta Country.

the latter are in much better circumstances, and considerably happier than those of the former. The depressed condition of the jagheer villages of the Southern Mahratta country is become proverbial, and this, when the embarrassed condition of the Chiefs is considered, together with the reckless means adopted by them to raise money under the farming system, cannot be a matter of surprise. The political records abound with remarks on the mismanagement of these estates, and it is in consequence of this misrule that Government have received Gokak, in a state of extreme poverty, from the Chinchnee Putwurdhun; Yadwar, in a still worse condition, from the Tasgaum Putwurdhun; and Uthnee, half depopulated, from Appa Dessaee Nepaneekur. The system of farming out mehals and villages to their creditors is that to which I allude as pursued by most landholders. This having been put an end to, and the assessment having been fixed for a period of thirty years at a rate calculated to enable the ryot to realize a fair profit on his holding, all cesses having also been abolished, a solid basis has been laid for improvement, and we may now look forward with confidence to witnessing, in the course of a few years, a considerable change for the better in the condition of the districts to which these remarks refer.

From C. A. ELLIOTT, Esq., Futtehgurh, to the UNDER SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department—(Dated August 26, 1867.)

I AM afraid I have no information to contribute which will be of any assistance towards the object with which your Circular of July 1st was issued. That the British Administration has secured to its subjects a vast increase in security, prosperity and material comfort, compared with those it succeeded to, is gross, open, and palpable. The question admits of no discussion. But the comparison Sir John Lawrence wishes to make is not with the Native States which preceded us, but with those which are our contemporaries, and which exist in districts alongside of our districts. Can we prove that our people are more prosperous and happier than those who live in the neighbouring Native States?

On this point I am sorry to say I know nothing which can be put in evidence, nor do I see how it would be possible to prove it. We have statistics of our territories. I know of no statistics of Native States. I can tell you the taxation per head in the Hoshungabad district; the area occupied by each cultivator; the average profits of agriculture to him; the quantity he spends in cloth, in salt, in sugar. I can give the actual export and the estimated profit of the wheat trade or the cotton trade. I can form a good guess at the number of educated people, or at the severity of the competition for land. But though Bhopal adjoins Hoshungabad, and though I have travelled in Bhopal, and talked to the cultivators, and know several of the local Governors, I cannot ascertain any of these facts, nor can any one in Bhopal tell me respecting Bhopal the things that I can tell them respecting Hoshungabad. One element of the statistical comparison appears to me to be entirely wanting.

If a comparison is based on the impressions derived from personal observation, it seems to me that nothing can be more delusive. We are, most of us, singularly incapable of finding out by observation facts regarding the circumstances of people which ought to be especially observable. Two instances brought this home to me in a very striking way. When the discussion as to tenant right in Oudh was arising, a writer in the *Calcutta Review* said:—"What good have Mauroosie rights done to "the cultivators in the North-west? They have existed for 30 years, but I defy "any one to show me that the Mauroosie tenants are better fed, better clad, better "housed, free from debt, have better bullocks, or are in any way better off than the "tenants-at-will." I put this question to many experienced and sagacious persons, and they all replied that their observation was not acute enough to distinguish the one class of tenants from the other; yet common sense tells us that there must be a distinction, and that it is our powers of observation that are in fault. The second instance that I will mention occurred during the cotton famine, when it was at its height in 1864. Both the most accurate statistics and the universal consensus of the people combined to assure us that the Native looms were almost entirely thrown out of work, and yet that the sales of English piece goods had greatly fallen off. If anything can be called certain, it was certain then, in the face of the great rise in prices, that all men were stinting themselves of clothes, and that the poorer cultivators who used to wear three *dhotees* a year were wearing only two; yet, though I repeatedly put the question, I could find no one who assured me that of his own

observation he had noticed that the people generally were going worse clad than usual.

I think, then, in the face of this deficiency both of statistics and of acute perceptions, we must fall back on general arguments and on common sense. If any one asserted to me that Native States were superior to us in their method or government, I should reply that the onus lay on him to prove it, and that the first thing to prove was the existence of any essential difference in the *method* of government. My impression is, that the better a Native State is, the more it approaches our system. In Bhopal, which is probably the best Native government in India, I really know of no difference that exists in theory; practically the government is laxer, less rigid, and more in sympathy with the governed. We can show that our administration is based on sound principles; that it is a government of great ideas; that it is carried on with scrupulous honesty and a constant desire after justice and right; and therefore the presumption that it secures material prosperity is so violent that it would need an extraordinary amount of evidence on the other side to rebut that presumption in the mind of any unprejudiced man.

But I would not go beyond this. I do not think the people are happier under us than under Native government; and if they were, I do not see how it could be proved; nor does it seem to me likely that they should be happier. Our Government, from the mere fact of its being a government of great ideas, has in it something of strain and tension, and, so far as it comes into contact with the people, must communicate that tension to them. With the higher minds, perhaps, it should be popular, but to the people at large it assumes almost a pedagogic attitude; they are as it were a school to us. Now, though popularity is a good thing in a schoolmaster, we do not consider that the most popular teacher is necessarily the best.

We assume, and history and the consent of the civilized world justify us in assuming, that we are placed by Providence in India for the good and the improvement of the people, to educate and stimulate them up to such a point that they may at last be able to govern themselves. As long as this work remains for us to do, we cannot be really popular. If we were popular, it would show that the people understood and appreciated our aims, that our thoughts awakened an answering chord in their minds; in other words, that we had done our work and brought the people up to a moral and intellectual level with ourselves, and that it was time for us to retire from the scene. It seems to me obvious that no government can be really popular with a people which is not the natural outcome of the minds and habits of the people, or at least of a large number of them. A government, therefore, confessedly ahead of the people, which deliberately sets itself to raise and improve them, cannot, especially if it is a government *ab extero* by a foreign race, hope to be popular.

Is the half-tamed tiger in its cage happier than the wild beast in the jungle? Is the half-tamed savage in an Arkansas farm happier than the free Indian on the Red River? Better off in material prosperity no doubt; happier *sua si bona norint*, as the Viceroy says, but not absolutely happier, or rather not always happier. And the moments when his brutish nature re-asserts itself in wild rage against civilization are the moments which bring him most before the notice of the world, and which seem to give the key-notes to his character and feelings. It is the same with the Hindoostanee. Though I would not, of course, place him so low in the scale as the Red Indian, still there is something wild and untamed in him which breaks out at times, and which disquiets him in his sleekest moments. I believe the point in which our Government chiefly fails to meet his views is not so much its want of a career as its want of chances. The distinction I draw is that a Native is indignant, not that he cannot rise by merit, but that he cannot rise by luck. The gambling spirit is ingrained into them by centuries of sudden rises and falls, and for this spirit our administration affords no opening. To their minds, at least in their unquiet moments, it seems better that one Azimgurh Koormie should become Dewan at Lucknow, and 20,000 Koormies be tortured to death by Rughbeer Dyal in Baraitch, than that all the Koormies in India should live in peace and prosperity, and none should ever become a Rajah. This is only one of several instances that might be given in which their instincts are opposed to ours, and clearly it is not we who should yield. All nations in turn have gone through this process of taming and settling down. Unless we fail utterly as a government, we shall succeed in eradicating these turbulent instincts; but till we do that, we cannot hope to be as popular as the Native governments which gratify and pamper those instincts.

From COLONEL G. RAMSAY, Nepal Residency, to the UNDER SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department—(Dated August 26, 1867.)

"In reply to your letter, "Confidential," of the 1st ultimo, I regret that I am unable to refer you to any records bearing upon the subject of your inquiry, viz., whether, in the estimation of the Natives of India, the system of the British Administration possesses any superiority over the method of government pursued in the Independent States. I can merely give you my individual opinion, based upon a service of five and twenty years at the Courts of Lucknow, Nagpore, and Nepal, not only that the British system is really far superior to that of the Native governments, but that it is universally recognised as such by those of the Natives who have been able to compare the two.

The relative merit of the two systems has repeatedly been discussed in general terms, in my presence, by Natives of rank and intelligence, and always to the advantage of our own rule. Of course, however, those who exercise authority, or hope to attain power, had much rather remain as they are, untrammelled by rules which militate against their own personal interests.

The difference between the two systems may be said to be this: Under the British rule the interests and the happiness of the masses are seriously considered, whereas in a Native Independent State these are the last things thought of.

NOTE by LIEUT.-COLONEL E. THOMSON, 1st Assistant to Governor-General's Agent, for Central India, on the general question of the Opinion entertained by the Natives of India as to the Superiority or otherwise of the System of British Administration in India over that which obtains in the Independent States—(Dated August 26, 1867.)

As far as my experience goes, I have found the system of Native government to be loose, disjointed, and essentially wanting in vitality. Through an ever active, though exquisitely concealed, spirit of mutual suspicion and distrust, running from the Chief to his Minister, and thence downwards to the lowest official, unity of action is practically excluded from any branch of the administration; the distribution of justice and the collection of revenue are left to chance; the consideration of security of life and property degenerates into a question of might against right, and the idea of law and order becomes a dead letter.

2. The official charged with the administration of justice is frequently uneducated and generally corrupt, consequently the baser instincts of his nature prompt him to offer his justice for sale, more particularly because the animosity of some other official may bring on him the displeasure of the Chief, with loss of office, heavy fine, penury, and degradation; for any or all of these calamities may befall him in a day. At times, to conciliate the Chief, he offers him a yearly sum out of the proceeds he realises; and I have known of the Chief officer of the Adalut being selected as the one who made the highest offer for the contract for distributing justice. On one occasion this happened to be a woman who nominated her substitute to sit in Court, on an understanding that he should receive a fixed salary. Once when seated in cutcherry, directing the proceedings of the Durbar—all arrangements of this nature having been, of course, put a stop to—I was surprised to see a petitioner present himself with a suit, and at the same moment draw forth a silver ornament, which he placed on the table, with the intimation that this was what he could afford for an award in his favour.

3. While the poorer classes had thus to pay for justice, there were men of position or of wealth to whom was permitted the privilege of recovering claims due to them in a different manner. Some of these men exercised as complete control over the persons of their debtors as if they were their slaves; imprisoned them in their own dwelling-houses, denying all egress, even for purposes of nature, and reducing them almost to the point of starvation. Indeed, as the actions of such men were unquestioned, there is no reason to doubt that death did result at times from the severity of the treatment they inflicted. Should the unhappy debtor seek safety in flight, his house and property, however valuable, became the perquisite of his creditor; and his family, if remaining behind, was liable to be incarcerated as he would have been. I have myself restored to a man who thus absconded from having been badly treated his house and property, and released his family from restraint, desiring his creditor to adopt the proper method to recover his debt, and considerable irritation among

the wealthy classes was the result of my summarily stopping the barbarous custom that prevailed in this matter.

4. In the same way has criminal justice been dispensed; prisoners are inconvenient in Native States; fines therefore become a source of revenue, and he who commits a heinous offence may secure the opportunity of repeating his crime by paying according to his means. A man may even commit very serious offences and escape altogether unpunished if he be a favourite follower in the Chief's personal retinue. I have adjudicated in a case where a personal attendant on the Chief roamed over the country, seizing and driving away cattle as "lawaris" (without owners), and appropriating property under the same pretence, till he became a perfect scourge, no one daring to complain against him, the owners of the cattle even hesitating to claim their property. It was quite surprising what amount of positive animosity against the Chief was created by the universal feeling of insecurity this man kept alive.

5. It is well known that a great many Native States foster a class of men who make their livelihood by petty thefts. These men are not so much dangerous at home as within our own well governed British districts; they sally forth from their villages at the fixed time of the year, not in bodies, but in twos or threes, or even singly, the veriest children being sent out on these occasions; they go to long distances—north, south, east, and west—throwing a regular network of petty depredation over the whole continent, and returning, after long absence, to their friends; they give a portion of their plunder to the Chief, either in kind or a yearly contribution, and divide the rest. I knew a village which was altogether peopled by this class, and I was gravely informed by the Durbar that a yearly income was drawn from this village after their annual expeditions. It is right to say that my suggestion was at once adopted to introduce a periodical muster of the villagers, to remit their yearly contribution, and to give them land to cultivate.

6. The few prisoners who are unfortunate enough to be incarcerated in Native States lead a life the most deplorable. I have seen such men stowed away in the most obscure part of a fort surrounded by filth, themselves unwashed, unshorn, and almost unclad; really more like men escaped from a herd of savages than human beings, likely at some future period to mix with their fellow men.

7. But sometimes there are men who are treated even worse than these prisoners. I have known of a Thakoor, calling himself a noble, tying up to a tree by his wrists a man obnoxious to him, quite close to a populous city where the Ranee, then the head of the administration, held her Court. The unfortunate victim, after being beaten, has been wounded with a spear, and then cast with his sores open and bleeding into a place of confinement uncared for and unattended; maggots sprung up in his sores, and finally death released him from suffering.

8. The system of revenue collections I have been introduced to in Native government is eminently calculated to cause the finest estate rapidly to deteriorate. If the treasury is drained, a full instalment of land revenue is anticipated. On such occasions I found a demand was made on wealthy bankers, and permission was given them to recover the revenue when due. They advanced the money on account of the zemindars, who had to pay not only exorbitant interest, but other charges of various descriptions. A second instalment would be anticipated in the same manner. Under such a system settlement was impossible, and the agricultural classes—the real wealth of a State—became ground down to a state of positive slavery, for they never knew what they must pay as revenue or when they must pay it. If their crops were good the demand of the State increased. To realize from the soil the sum oppressively extorted from them was their only object in the present; to die at the plough their only prospect in the future. The banker extorted from the zemindar, the zemindar from the cultivator, and the latter gave his last farthing and prayed to be left alone.

9. The introduction of an altered system amid this misery was the cause of universal joy; and it is well known to the Governor General's Agent, that when this unhappy system of the Native Government was gradually and gently replaced by one founded on the principles that obtained in our own districts, there followed general prosperity and satisfaction, a flourishing treasury, and increase of revenue.

10. But if I were to take up every department of administration I should swell these remarks to a serious length. Suffice it to say that the natural condition of a Native government is one which gives no dignity to its ruler, no respectability to its officials, and no security or happiness to its people.

11. It is not the duty of Political Officers to parade the errors of Native administrations, where they have been placed to smooth what is rough, and to soften what is harsh. But the above observations have been called for by the desire of the Governor General's Agent, that I should submit any remarks bearing on the question in point from the experience I may have acquired during an unbroken residence of upwards of four years in Native States while in charge of three Native administrations.

12. In conclusion I may observe that wherever improvement was effected in the points above noted it was through the introduction of measures found to have been beneficial in British districts; and whenever a Chief or a Durbar desired reform, it was always proposed to introduce such reform by following the principles of government in British territory.

From T. C. HOPE, Esq., Collector and Magistrate, Surat, to the UNDER SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT of INDIA, Foreign Department—(Dated Surat, August 28, 1867.)

In reply to your letter of July 1st, I am glad to state that I do not feel the slightest doubt that the conclusion of His Excellency the Viceroy, that the masses of the people are incontestably more prosperous and happy in British territory than they are under Native rulers, is a sound one. I hope you will excuse my adding that my opinion has been formed after having enjoyed, as you are aware, somewhat exceptional opportunities for contrasting the two in almost all parts of our Presidency.

The question must of course always remain to a certain extent a matter of opinion, owing to the great difficulty of obtaining reliable statistics; but I will mention a few instances within my own knowledge,—(1), of the relative condition of the people in British and Native territories contiguous to each other; and (2), of the preference for our rule shown by the people of the latter.

A glance at the map will show that the Surat district is to a considerable extent intermixed with certain territory belonging to His Highness the Gaekwar, a fact chiefly owing to the 28 pergunnahs, called the Attaveesee, having been divided between the Peshwa and the Gaekwar, and to our having by various treaties succeeded to the rights of the former. As the pergunnahs held by the two Powers respectively lie in close juxtaposition and partake of the same characteristics, they are peculiarly adapted for a comparison of the nature required.

The accompanying statement shows the present condition of ten of the Gaekwar's pergunnahs compared with seven talookas of our own. The figures for the latter are of course absolutely correct; those for the former are, I believe, very reliable, having been obtained from highly respectable private sources. The first point observable is the extreme oppressiveness of the Gaekwar's revenue collections. His maximum rates, compared with ours, are summarised in the margin, and the extent to which they are imposed is evidenced by the fact that his cultivated area, though less than ours in the proportion of 22 to 100, yields a gross revenue 19 per cent. larger. Our collections give an average of Rs. 2-8 per beegah, whereas his amount to Rs. 13-5 per beegah. It is also undoubted that his collections are made in the manner most oppressive to the people. In many parts the produce is shared in kind, and the Gaekwar's officials attach the crops when ripe and prevent their being cut till security has been furnished, and various petty exactions have been submitted to. If a man raises two or three crops from his land the process is repeated with each. The demands, where in cash, are often quite arbitrary, and composed of a variety of complicated cesses and items which the cultivators can ill understand. The obvious result of such a system is, that we have 77 per cent. of our culturable area in cultivation, while the Gaekwar has only 40 per cent.

	British.		Gaekwar.	
	Maximum per Beegah.	Average Maximum per Beegah.	Maximum per Beegah.	Average Maximum per Beegah.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Dry crop - -	8	5	20	14
Garden Land -	16	8½	45	26
Rice - - - -	17	10½	30	23

Another method of comparison, and a test of the correctness of the above statements, is afforded by the deed of partition of A. D. 1751 between the Peshwa and Gaekwar, and the schedule appended to the Treaty of Bassein. The revenue of 14 of the pergunnahs retained by the Gaekwar is shown in the former as Rs. 5,92,500 whereas I have ascertained that it is now Rs. 24,85,000, being an increase

of 310 per cent. Only three of the pergunnahs in that list, which we now possess, happen to be so shown as to allow of comparison; but I find that in them the revenue has risen from Rs. 2,41,500 to Rs. 5,44,000—an increase of only 125 per cent. But that this is a reliable average for the whole is clear by reference to the Treaty of Bassein, which shows that the seven talookas already referred to, and yielding (see statement) Rs. 20,95,000, were then estimated at Rs. 9,52,000, that is, the revenue has increased 120 per cent. in our time. That even these increases are in our case greatly attributable to increased cultivation, but in the Gaekwar's to increased demands, following the rise of prices and leaving the ryot now, as formerly, a bare subsistence, may be safely inferred from the large proportion of the Gaekwar's land still uncultivated.

It may be objected that the Gaekwar's is an extreme case. There are, no doubt, many of the indigenous States of Guzerat which are far better administered and more liberal; but still, as far as I have seen, I think that the average of their revenue demands is considerably above ours. And the same is observable in all alienated villages within our own territory.

The truth of this conclusion is supported by the very appearance of the two territories; the British border seeming to me, in nine cases out of ten, to be distinguishable as we cross it by road or rail, in the extended cultivation and more well-to-do appearance of the people, their dress, and their dwellings.

I will now turn to the second head, and mention very briefly a few instances of the preference of the people for our rule, which I believe to be a general sentiment wherever they have the opportunity of comparing the two.

(*a*) I was all through the Powaghur Punch Mahals in 1856, only 2½ years after we had received the management of them from His Highness the Scindia, and found the people everywhere openly expressing their satisfaction at the change.

(*b*) When, in 1862 and 1863, I was Collector of Ahmedabad, which is a district almost entirely surrounded by Native States, the immigration from the latter was considerable. In one instance a batch of immigrants founded a village.

(*c*) Two years ago the oppression in one of the Gaekwar's pergunnahs, contiguous to this district, was so intolerable that the people left a large proportion of their land waste, and applied in large numbers to my predecessor for permission to settle in our territory.

(*d*) I have at present before me officially a proposal from certain subjects of the Gaekwar to take up the whole waste land (91,000 beegahs) of the pergunnah of Mandvee in this district, and bring it into cultivation within a fixed time, peopling it with immigrants from the Gaekwar's territory. They offer to bring 5,000 this year.

There can be no doubt that immigration would be far more extensive even than it is if, on the one hand, it were our practice to encourage it by assisting the new comers to build huts, sink wells, &c.; and on the other, the Galkwar did not resort to the severest measures to put a stop to it—confiscating all property left behind, and often imprisoning the relatives of the emigrants into the bargain.

The comparisons which I have hitherto made have been fiscal only. As regards civil and criminal justice no statistics are available, and I can only affirm that I believe the superiority of our system (in spite of certain drawbacks, such as ignorance of the language) to be as marked in this particular as in the other, and to be as generally admitted by all foreign subjects who have an opportunity of observing it. In some Native States very creditable efforts at improvement are being made, though the result is still trifling; but in the majority the old system still flourishes, though in one or two instances it is cloaked by a semblance of complete reform, and the old officials are at their old practices under new high sounding titles, and with codes at their elbow.

In conclusion, I much regret the delay which has occurred in submitting this report, which is owing to the difficulty of obtaining statistics.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of the present Condition of certain British and Gaekwar Territories.

BRITISH TALOOKAS.													GAEKWAR'S PERGUNNAHS.											
Numbers.	Names of Talookas.	Area.			Revenue from all sources.	Rates.							Numbers.	Names of Pergunnahs.	Area.			Revenue from all sources.	Rates.					
		Cultivated Land.	Uncultivated Land.	Total.		Dry Crop.		Garden Crop.		Rice Crop.					Cultivated Land.	Uncultivated Land.	Total.		Dry Crop.		Garden Crop.		Rice Crop.	
						From	To	From	To	From	To								From	To	From	To	From	To
		Beegahs.	Beegahs.	Beegahs.	Rs.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.				Beegahs	Beegahs	Beegahs	Rupees.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.
1	Oolpar - -	1,47,997	27,293	1,75,290	5,45,479	1 8	7 8	3 8	10 0	3 0	10 6		1	Wusravee	29,877	78,587	1,08,464	2,76,000	5 0	8 0	—	—	15 0	17 0
2	Soopa - -	66,301	18,056	84,357	2,68,294	1 14	5 0	3 0	16 0	1 14	17 0		2	Buleswur -	31,426	43,689	75,115	3,50,000	7 0	12 0	25 0	33 0	25 0	30 0
3	Bulsar - -	2,00,002	39,912	2,39,914	3,34,996	0 8	8 0	3 0	14 0	1 8	14 0		3	Timba - -	21,275	20,022	41,297	1,57,000	7 0	10 0	20 0	25 0	15 0	22 0
4	Mandvee -	67,868	91,736	1,59,604	1,27,562	0 10	5 12	—	—	3 0	6 10		4	Murolee -	13,621	24,684	38,305	1,60,000	10 0	11 0	25 0	35 0	15 0	25 0
5	Chowrasee -	33,651	1,446	35,097	1,69,989	4 1	—	7 1	—	7 10	—		5	Galla - -	15,447	41,483	56,930	1,95,000	10 0	19 0	20 0	25 0	15 0	17 0
6	Bardolee -	1,74,729	31,755	2,06,484	4,02,606	3 8	—	6 12	—	9 6	—		6	Gundevee -	18,115	17,134	35,249	1,80,000	15 0	17 0	35 0	45 0	25 0	30 0
7	Chicklee -	1,54,331	38,442	1,92,773	2,46,445	2 3	—	6 12	—	8 13	—		7	Kusba Vurinv	5,443	4,364	9,807	54,000	9 4	—	9 4	—	9 4	—
													8	„ Nuwsaree	4,219	3,616	7,835	59,000	15 0	17 0	34 0	45 0	25 0	30 0
													9	Kamragee -	17,085	20,463	37,548	2,21,000	4 8	20 0	22 0	25 0	15 0	25 0
													10	Telaiee - -	30,079	11,131	41,210	3,00,000	15 0	20 0	25 0	33 0	20 0	25 0
		8,44,879	2,48,640	10,93,519	20,95,371										1,86,587	2,65,173	4,51,760	19,52,000						
														Add Nuzzurana - -				5,32,900						
														Total - - - Rs.				24,84,900						

T. C. HOPE.

From the HON. A. A. ROBERTS, C.B.C.S.I., Judicial Commissioner, Punjab, to the UNDER SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department—(Dated Murree, August 29, 1867.)

YOUR letter of 1st July invites me to supply you with any statements which my experience may enable me to furnish, to show the estimation in which the system of British administration in India is held by the Natives as compared with the method of government pursued in the Native States.

No mean authority on this subject, Sir John Malcolm, expressed the following opinion of the effect upon the Natives of the introduction of English rule :—"Our "success and moderation, as compared with the misrule and violence to which a "great part of the population of India have for more than a century been exposed, "have at this moment raised the reputation of the British name so high that men "have forgotten their feelings of patriotism in the contemplation of the security "and prosperity they enjoy under strangers."

The above remark is as true now as it was when it was uttered 40 years ago. The same effect occurs as every new province comes under British sway. The people feel thankful that every man can sit under his vine and under his fig tree, and for the peace, security, and order which reign.

Then it is notorious that the inhabitants of Native States do, more or less, immigrate into British territory, and rarely return to their own countries, unless the latter happen to come under British rule.

This was the case with Oudh (*vide* last census report of the North-Western Provinces), and more recently with Bhawulpore. The Deputy Commissioner of Montgomery (late Gogaira district) informs me that numbers of persons who had settled in his district to escape the misrule which used to prevail in Bhawulpore, had returned to that country since it had come under the management of the British Government. There are numerous villages in the Sirsa and Hissar districts which have been founded since we took possession of that part of the country, and are inhabited chiefly, if not entirely, by immigrants from Bikaneer, Bhawulpore, and, to a more limited extent, from the Sikh States to the north. I may cite also the teeming colonies of Cashmere shawl-weavers who form no inconsiderable portion of the inhabitants of the cities of Umritsur and Loodiana, and who are also settled in great numbers at Jelalpore, in the Goojerat, at Soojanpore, in the Goordaspore, and at Noorpore, in the Kangra district. It is no secret that these people, with their families to the number of many thousands, will not return to their own country on account of the oppression and exactions to which they are there liable, and that their numbers are constantly increased by fresh immigrants. Another proof of the sense of security under British rule is the number of foreign Pathan soldiers in the Punjab frontier force; the number of Affghan merchants who annually penetrate with their goods as far as Calcutta, and the increasing numbers of Hazaras "from the hills beyond Cabool," and of Jadroons "from a wild district in the vicinity of Kelat-i-Ghilzie," who used formerly to get no further than the Peshawur Valley (see paragraph 292 of Major James' Report on the Settlement of the Peshawur district), but are now to be met with in crowds as contractors and navvies along the Grand Trunk Road as far as Lahore, and wherever there are Public Works in progress.

Again, thousands of jampanees and thousands more of workmen and labourers of all sorts stream in from Cashmere to Murree, and from the neighbouring Native States to Dalhousie, Simla, Mussoorie, and Darjeeling, for several months every year.

It cannot, I think, be doubted that the Natives, whether of our own territories or of Native States, do feel that there is greater security for person and property, and more peace, order, and regularity under British, than under Native rule.

It is some years since a Native gentleman, a Mahomedan of Moradabad, remarked to me that in four respects our Government was superior to any Native administration. These were, duftur, lashkar, shâh-râh, and tankhah. Certainly since the days of Akbar, India has seen nothing deserving the name of a duftur or of a shâh-râh, until these were introduced by ourselves. Todur Mull had no idea of fixed salaries paid monthly, or of superannuation pensions. Hyder Ali, or Scindia of old, or Runjeet Singh, with all their appreciation of standing armies and of French and Italian Officers to discipline them, were far behind us in military organization. I believe that all Natives, especially after conquest or annexation, appreciate the four cardinal points in our administration which excited the admiration of my Moradabad friend. They justly consider our *bundobust*, our arrange-

ments in these respects, very superior to any analogous Native institution; but they are not slow to perceive our weak points even in these matters.

I think, too, that they have a general idea of our good intention, our sense of justice, our moderation, and our great power. I believe that these sentiments and feelings induce large numbers of foreigners from ill-governed Native States to settle in our territories. I have no doubt that for one instance of immigration from British to Native territory thousands of instances of immigration from Native into British territory may be adduced. Still I question whether the assertion made in your third paragraph, that the masses of the people are incontestibly more prosperous, "and (*sua si bonâ norint*) far more happy in British territory than they are under Native rulers," is not too broadly stated.

Certain sections of the people, as the smaller landed proprietors or a portion of them, and also some of the trading classes, are perhaps better off than they were; but the masses,—the tenants, and farm-labourers, artisans, domestic servants, and others,—earn no more in British territory than elsewhere, aught but a bare subsistence for themselves and their families. The price of food and of all the necessaries of life has risen so enormously within the last few years, that I doubt, although there has in some parts been a proportionate rise in wages, whether the masses are so prosperous as they were before the mutiny, or as they used to be under the Native Governments. An intelligent Native observed to me the other day that it was the general remark that famine prices had prevailed for several years. I have certainly observed that for the last six or seven years, the average price of wheat-flour in the North-Western Provinces and in the Punjab has not exceeded 18 or 20 seers for she rupee, while the price of rice in Bengal has been rather dearer. These rates are to the masses famine prices, and the people feel and say that these prices are one result of British rule. Another remark which the same individual made to me was that the idea was very prevalent that sickness had greatly increased under our rule; that people were not so robust as they used to be, and that they rarely now-a-days attained to an old age.

I have long been under the impression that the mortality among natives is excessive, and the census of the North-Western Provinces, which was taken in 1865, and which shows a decrease of upwards of a quarter of a million on the population of 1853, tends to confirm this view. It is unreasonable to attribute this diminution either entirely, or in any great measure, to the mutiny. A decade has since passed, and there has been ample time for an increase of population. The people talk of these things and attribute them partly, if not entirely, to a visitation of God, consequent upon the introduction of British rule, and draw an inference unfavourable to it.

I accordingly see reason to doubt whether the people at large either think themselves, or really are, more prosperous or more happy under our rule than they were under Native Governments. I have no doubt myself that India is progressing towards material and moral improvement; but I do not think that we have done all that we might and ought to have done, nor have we been at the pains to convince the people of what we are doing for them. The gulf between us and our Native subjects is becoming wider year by year. It is wider in Bengal than in the North-Western Provinces, and it is wider in the latter than in the Punjab. It is becoming wider every year in the Punjab. Our executive Officers, partly from increase of work, and partly either from want of inclination, or of not understanding the necessity and advantage of friendly intercourse with the people, see less and know less of them than formerly, and they know less of us and misunderstand us and our motives and acts. We needed the stimulus which the observations of Lord Cranborne and Sir Stafford Northcote are calculated to give. The discussions in the Council of the Secretary of State for India regarding the Mysore succession, and the debate which followed in the House of Commons, will not be without good effect if they arouse the Government and all its European Officers to the necessity of greater intercourse with, and knowledge of, and sympathy towards, our Native subjects.

The following words of Sir John Malcolm express so exactly my views of our duty towards the people of this country that I cannot do better than quote them:—

"The people of India must, by a recurring sense of benefits, have amends made "them for the degradation of continuing subject to foreign masters; and this can "only be done by the combined efforts of every individual employed in a station of "trust and responsibility, to render popular a Government which, though not "national, has its foundations laid deep in the principles of toleration, justice, and "wisdom."

From the HONOURABLE SIR D. F. MACLEOD, to the UNDER-SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Foreign Department—
(Dated Murree, September 5, 1867.)

WITH reference to your confidential letter of the 1st July, which I have been longer in replying to than I could have wished, I annex an abstract showing approximately the number of persons who have emigrated from British territory to Native States during the last ten years, and *vice versâ*, as such a document affords perhaps the most tangible evidence obtainable in the form of statistics to indicate the amount of estimation in which our rule is held by the people of this country as compared with that of Native States around us. The letters and documents from which the data comprised in this abstract have been taken I do not think it necessary to send, as they contain in fact nothing whatever of real importance which is not more clearly exhibited in the accompanying Tabular Statement.

From this document it appears that the number of persons who have immigrated into the Punjab from adjoining States is five times greater than that of those who have emigrated. While a large proportion of the latter consists of those who have found it necessary or expedient to abandon British territory, in consequence of the part taken by them in the events of 1857-58, and of persons belonging to trades, such as those of jewellers, silk-weavers, armourers, gunpowder makers, pyrotechnist, &c., for which there is a greater demand at Native Courts than in British territory; much reliance cannot perhaps be placed in the correctness of these returns, and the movements of the higher classes are probably hardly shown in them at all. But there can be no doubt whatever that those who have sought British rule are vastly more numerous than those who have abandoned it, while it may be added with truth that the coercive measures adopted in some Native States towards intending emigrants renders it oftentimes very difficult for these to carry out their wishes.

Another criterion by which some opinion may be formed on the subject is derived from the feeling evinced by populations who have been transferred from British to Native rule in consequence of alienations of territory. One of the tracts so circumstanced is the tâlooka or district of Kote Kapura, made over to the Rajah of Furreed-kote. From this tract the stream of petitions to our authorities, attributing oppression to the Rajah, has been incessant, although no action has ever been taken on them by those officers except in the way of friendly advice. An abstract in English of the purport of some of these petitions accompanies. Portions of territory, more or less considerable, have in like manner from time to time been made over to the Rajah of Bikaneer and other chiefs; and in few, if any, of these instances have the people thus transferred, failed to evince dissatisfaction, though only by verbal representations, or by anonymous petitions, of which no record has been retained, not daring to make known their complaints, as the subjects of the more pliant Rajah of Furreed-kote have done.

On the other hand, where territory under Native rule has been transferred to us, I have never heard of any symptoms of discontent or dissatisfaction having been evinced by the people, save such mortification as may have been shown by the military classes and retainers of courts, where territory has been acquired by conquest. On the contrary, I believe that the feeling evinced by the bulk of the population, on the first assumption of their territory by the British Government, has in every instance been one of satisfaction. And I do not think that any one who really knows India will attempt to deny that the security, both in person and property, the freedom from violence or oppressions of every kind, the stability of established order, the encouragements to trade and progress, and facilities for accumulation and utilization of capital afforded under British rule, are infinitely preferred by the bulk of the people to the comparative lawlessness existing in the Native States by whom we are surrounded.

The rule of the Sikhs has always been, as a rule, proverbially grasping; and this character remains impressed on the neighbouring government of Cashmere, of which the founder was an officer of the Sikh Government. Discontent is, without doubt, very general throughout that country; and although the difficulties in the way of leaving it are very great, many have succeeded on doing so, and many more would do so had they the power, though it is stated by the Deputy Commissioner of Sealkote that the proportion of the produce left to the cultivator in Cashmere is greater than under us—a statement which I find it difficult to believe correct. The principal Cis-Sutlej Chiefs and the Rajah of Kuppoorthulla have made considerable progress of late years towards the adoption of more enlightened principles of government; but still it may well be doubted whether their subjects would deliberately prefer their rule, if transfer to the British were offered them.

The only other considerable States adjoining the Punjab, setting aside the Affghans and Belooches, are those of Rajpootana and that of Bhawulpore. In the latter such was the state of anarchy which had been reached when the late Nawab died (as is generally believed by violence) that, at the earnest solicitation of the ministers themselves, our Government deemed it necessary last year to assume charge of the State during the minority of his successor; since which period large numbers who had emigrated into British territory to avoid the tyranny of the Nawab have returned to their homes, while immigrants have also been received from other adjoining territories. In regard to the States of Rajpootana, others are more competent than I am to express an opinion; but our subjects have certainly evinced no preference for their rule.

The frontier tribes of Affghanistan and Beloochistan, and the petty Hill Chieftains of the Sub-Himalayan ranges alone remain. Of the former it is probably needless to make mention here, as the state of things amongst them is opposed to all ideas of civilization; but the latter are perhaps the portions of Native territory adjoining us, which are, on the whole, most contented; both chiefs and people being comparatively simple and mild, and the feeling of clanship and devotion to their Chief being very strong amongst these hill tribes. Even there, however, there are exceptions to this spirit, and there can be no doubt, at all events, that the hill races, under the rule of Puttiala, would hail with joy a transfer to that of the British.

While, however, fully admitting all the above, I deem it right to remark, as I have been required to offer any statements on the subject which my experience may enable me to furnish, that these results are attributable to the more or less arbitrary and uncertain character of the Native Governments we see around us; that the very presence of the British Power relieves these from many of the restraints which existed when they and their subjects were left entirely to themselves, thus rendering some of them more oppressive and indifferent to their people's welfare than they might otherwise have been; and that if the comparison were made with really well governed Native States, and such I believe are to be found, the comparison might not, in the estimation of the people, be altogether in favour of the British Government, save in so far as the continuance of just rule in a Native State where there are no constitutional guarantees must ever be dependent on the character of the Chief, and therefore wanting the stability of British rule.

Such being my impressions, it will be readily understood that, if the remarks which have elicited this discussion were intended, as I understand them to have been intended, to caution Englishmen against the belief that the principles of administration which are most congenial to them must necessarily be so to the populations who have here been committed to our charge, then I consider those remarks to have been appropriate and wise; and if they should lead us to pause and consider what portions of our policy are least appreciated or most distasteful, and whether, and in what manner, these can be advantageously modified, then their enunciation will, I believe, prove to have been eminently beneficial.

The second paragraph of your letter mentions some of the causes calculated to render our rule unpopular with the people of India, and in the tenor of that paragraph generally I quite concur. While, however, I fully admit that the causes of our unpopularity are mainly the result of our being foreigners and aliens to the people, yet I do not consider that this unpopularity is the necessary result of that fact, but that it springs from the policy and demeanour which our foreign training and proclivities, and our want of familiar acquaintance with them, lead us to adopt. And this is a distinction which it appears to me very important to bear in mind, as, if it be accepted, there will then be much more hope for the future than if we allow ourselves to settle down in the conviction that the two races can never be otherwise than antagonistic. Where an Englishman has shown a warm and rational sympathy with the people, they invariably respond in a manner which is unmistakeable, regarding him with feelings nearly akin to affection; and in the case of the Government, the same result would, I feel assured, follow from the same cause; for the people already fully appreciate and admire its love of justice, its honesty of purpose, and its stability, and would, I believe, be quite prepared to accord to it their devoted loyalty, if they could perceive in its principles of action that spirit of sympathy which it is easy to invoke, but very difficult to describe. The more, in short, we study the people, consult their wishes and feelings, and take them into our confidence, the more shall we soften or remove that alienation which difference of race at present begets.

Having thought it right to say thus much, it will be well, perhaps, if I instance a few of the more prominent points in respect to which I believe the people to consider that we have evinced a want of sympathy with them.

Under oriental rule, from scriptural times until now, the Government has ever been regarded, not only as the fountain of honour and dignity, but as the source from whence bounties and privileges were largely to be obtained. This position our Government has in a great measure virtually abnegated, and although of late years it has somewhat relaxed in this respect, its action in so doing is condemned by many of our countrymen. The feeling of the Oriental in this matter, and generally in regard to the relations between superiors and inferiors, differs greatly from that of the Englishman, in so much that service on small pay, with the prospect of frequent presents, is the usage of the country, and preferred by all parties, while to an Englishman it would be intolerable. Grants of land and allowances under Native rules, however solemnly declared to be perpetual, were always, except in the case of religious endowments, practically considered as resumable at pleasure, and withdrawn almost as freely as they were in turn bestowed—a state of things which, from its very uncertainty and the excitement attending it, appears to have a charm for the Oriental.

Such predilections we certainly have not indulged, and there is hardly any point on which the Natives have more frequently animadverted in their conversations with me than upon this, that our Government has ceased to secure the attachment of influential men by conferring grants and largesses. A few years ago, while riding out at Lahore, I entered into conversation with two respectably dressed Sikhs who were walking on the side of the road. One of them in particular appeared depressed and morose, and on my asking him the cause of this, he said, with great bitterness, "Under your Government there are no rewards." The incident was a trifling one, but owing to the man's demeanour, it made a great impression on me, and has often made me feel increased regret when cases have come before me in which "Zemindar Inams," or grants made by former rulers to leading men in each tract of country, as a sort of retaining fee, have been resumed under us. The abstract sentiment, that a Government has no right to bestow upon a few the income which properly belongs to the public at large, has led us, from the most conscientious motives, to inquire into the validity of even small grants with a rigour, and to resume them with a freedom, which have given much offence, especially in the case of endowments; while, when grants have once been declared valid, they have in a large majority of cases been confirmed by forms so rigid and legal as to become the subject of contention in our Courts, even as against the Government itself, so that the people cease to regard them as gifts from the Government. In thus acting, we have without doubt been guided strictly by a sense of right and justice; but the course pursued, nevertheless, conveys to an oriental mind the impression of a burlesque of liberality.

Another point on which the system pursued by us is distasteful to the better classes of the people, is the equality of all before the law, and the difficulty of obtaining redress for outraged feelings. On visiting once a Police station in the interior of the Umritsur district, I found that a *mazhabi*, or Sikh sweeper, had been arrested on a charge of having poisoned the bullocks of a petty Sirdar, the chief proprietor of his village. I entered into conversation with this gentleman, and found him in a great distress, asserting that these bullocks constituted almost all the property he possessed, and that they had been destroyed by his own servant merely for the value of their skins. I took him inside the station enclosure that I might hear what the prisoner had to say; but on our reaching him, the latter poured out a volley of most offensive abuse on the Sirdar, who remarked to me in great agony, "It would be "better to die than to live under your Government; this could have happened under "no other." Society is no doubt gradually devising means for correcting this state of things, or becoming reconciled to it; and we may look forward to the day when the love of independence will be as strong and as genuine in the breast of the Indian as of the Englishman. But in the meantime we must be prepared to incur odium on this point, as it is one on which we cannot well make any surrender.

An intimate acquaintance with the people might suggest numerous particulars, in which our principles and practice are in like manner distasteful to our subjects; but even if I could profess to have such acquaintance with them, it would not be necessary thus to expand these remarks; and the only other point which I will here notice is, in my opinion, by far the most important of all. I allude to our allowing the people but little, if any, real share in the management of their own social and municipal affairs, which they undoubtedly feel to be a great indignity and injustice, and which in very many ways subjects them to the most disagreeable consequences.

Until very recently, our stipendiary officials alone possessed any authority or discretion whatever, the people being virtually helpless as against them. And while I was attached to the North-Western Provinces, I well know that for the most part

heads of villages, though charged by law with heavy responsibilities, were practically powerless to appoint even a Chowkeedar, or village watchman, save at the dictation of the Native head of the Police. In the large city of Benares, in like manner the *Phâtakbandies* or city watchmen, instead of being as formerly the servants of the municipalities and controlled by them, leagued themselves largely with the bad characters of their ward and with the Police, and set the people with defiance, so that in some cases they actually levied black mail upon the inhabitants, and it was not until the system was introduced of the Magistrate going down once a week to the Kotwallee, or head City Police Station, and there discussing with the Meer Mohallahs and other principal men of the several wards, the appointments, rewards, punishments, or removals of *Phâtakbandies*, and the affairs of their respective divisions generally, that this state of things was put an end to.

Much has been done of late years in many parts towards remedying this state of things by the appointment of Honorary Magistrates, Municipal Committees, Zaildars, Chowdries, &c., investing all with certain defined powers or functions, and allowing to some emoluments more or less considerable. I know of no move made by us which has been so acceptable to the people; and all that I would desire to see is, that the efforts which have been made in this direction thus far be steadily continued and extended as opportunity may permit. The matter is one surrounded with difficulties, not only in itself, but still more owing to the feelings and opinions of a large portion of our own countrymen. Such precision, correctness of practice, and soundness of judgment, cannot be expected from the above class of functionaries, as from those of a superior and special training; and while we are strenuously endeavouring to raise our judicial and administrative systems to a standard suited to European requirements, it is mortifying to have to submit to the crudenesses which are to be looked for, occasionally at all events from such persons. Nevertheless, in order to do justice to the people in this matter, I believe it to be indispensible that we so legislate as to admit of the existence of an authorized machinery, both judicial and administrative, of an inferior order, for ministering to their wants and requirements in connexion with the social and other affairs of their every-day life; and while endeavouring gradually to improve this machinery to the utmost, that we be content in the mean time with such standard of merit as satisfies and suits them.

The subject is a vast one, on which it would be out of place to enlarge here. But I would remark that I consider such a course to be desirable and necessary, not only to meet the wants and wishes of the people, but to educate them as a nation. For whatever education we may give them in our schools, it will have but little national effect, or perhaps an injurious one, unless the people be at the same time trained to habits of vigorous thought and self-reliance by taking some share in their own administration. Many, I know, are of opinion, that we shall meet all requirements by educating the higher classes, and opening to them distinguished posts in our councils and administrations. But I cannot assent to this view; and while highly approving of these very excellent and necessary measures, I nevertheless believe that until the masses be more or less trained in the manner pointed out to robust mental habits, and more or less imbued with the enlightened views of the West, which they will thus inevitably to some extent imbibe, these measures will of themselves secure but very partial results, and any Native members whom we may appoint to our councils will either be no real representatives of the people at all, or will evince a puerility and contractedness of mind which will altogether impair their usefulness.

Under former Governments and under good Native Governments of the present time, we shall almost everywhere find a republican spirit prevail throughout the village and municipal administrations; but under us this spirit has been virtually suppressed. Republican as the British nation is, it seems to me especially appropriate that we should endeavour to retrieve this error, and to recognize and respect that sentiment to whatever extent it may exist amongst our subjects here; and this course appears to me to be all the more incumbent on us, as foreigners, having but little intimate social intercourse with them, on the ground, that we shall thus afford them an opportunity of indicating their wishes and their opinions to an extent not practicable in any other legitimate and constitutional method, as well as enable them to some extent to carry out their views under our control and guidance.

How far it may be possible hereafter, or be deemed expedient, to act on these views the progress of events alone can show; but the germ exists, which is undoubtedly capable of expanding into a goodly tree, and it requires, I believe, only encouragement from Government to ensure hearty co-operation on the part of most of its own officers, together with the grateful support and appreciation of all classes of the people themselves.

ABSTRACT showing approximate Number of Emigrants from Native States to British Territory, and vice versâ, during the last Ten Years.

Districts.	Emigration.			Immigration.		
	Number of Emigrants to Native States.	Class.	Cause alleged.	Number of Immigrants from Native States.	Class.	Cause alleged.
Delhi	A large number to Putteeala, Gwalior, Ulwar, and Touk).	Traders, artisans, and munshis (chiefly adherents of rebels).	The mutiny	Inconsiderable.		
Goorgaon						
Kurnaul	Very few			500 (from Putteeala and Jheend).	Agriculturists	Impoverishment and defective revenue administration.
Hissar	1,079 (to Putteeala, Jheend, and Rajpootana)	Agriculturists	The mutiny and the famine of 1860-61	2,219 (from Putteeala, Jheend, Malairkotla, and Rajpootana).	Non-agricultural chiefly	Over-taxation and general oppression.
Rohtuck						
Sirsa	234 (to Bikaneer)	Agriculturists	Former residents of the State.	14,225 (from Bikaneer, Putteeala, Bhawulpore, and Furreed Kote).	Agricultural chiefly	Exactions of Native rulers.
Umballa	1,553 (to Putteeala and Nahun).	Two-thirds agriculturists One-sixth labourers One-sixth shopkeepers	Inducements offered to settle on waste lands.	733 (chiefly Patiala)	Chiefly agriculturists and labourers.	
Loodhiana	500	Cashmere weavers	Invited to go to Jheend, but most have returned.	Few.		
Simla.						
Jullundur	150 (to Kuppoorthulla)	Agriculturists and sweepers	Prospects of obtaining land	Some 450 residents of Native States in service in this district.		
Hoshyarpore	No emigration, but some 250 to 300 residents are in service in Native States.					
Kangra	None			100 families about 500 persons (from the Hill States).	Agriculturists and one or two bankers.	The system of forced labour, and the exactions of Kurdars.
Umritsur	1,000 (but of these 400 have returned).	Chiefly weavers	Inducements held out by the Rajah of Jheend.	3,000 (chiefly Cashmeries)	Weavers, tailors, and artisans.	Superior wages obtainable in British territory.
Sealkote	40 (to Jummoo)	Agriculturists	Having relatives in Jummoo and prospects of obtaining land on more favorable terms.	200 (from Jummoo)	Cultivators	Poverty and the forced labour system.
Goordaspore	10 families equal to 50 persons (to Jummoo and Chumba).	Agriculturists	Invitation of relatives	200 families (equal 1,000 souls).	Agriculturists	Exactions and oppression of Jummoo authorities.

ABSTRACT showing approximate Number of Emigrants from Native States to British Territory, and vice versâ, during the last Ten Years—*continued*.

Districts.	Emigration.			Immigration.		
	Number of Emigrants to Native States.	Class.	Cause alleged.	Number of Immigrants from Native States.	Class.	Cause alleged.
Lahore				1,000 from Cashmere	Cashmere labourers and a few traders and weavers.	
Ferozepore	Very few			Considerable number (say 1,000) from the Sikh States.	Not stated	"Difference in revenue rates and system and greater security for persons and property in British territory."
Goojranwala				Few.		
Mooltan	A few (to Bhawulpore	Bankers and traders (many have returned).	Facilities of trade	Considerable numbers (say 1,000).	Agriculturists	To avoid the oppression of the Bhawulpore officials.
Montgomery	300 (into Bhawulpore and Bikaneer)	Agriculturists	Drought and failure of irrigation canals.	200 (from ditto)	Agriculturists.	
Mozuffergurh.						
Jhung.						
Dera Ismael Khan	300 (to Bhawulpore	Pathans	To take service in the army.	A few merchants from Jódhpore, &c.		
Dera Ghazi Khan						
Bunnoo				A few from Cabul, Candahar, &c.		To escape the tyranny of the Native rulers.
Rawul Pindee				900	Chiefly tailors from Cashmere, and Affghans.	Prospects of better livelihood.
Guzerat	150 (to Jummoo)		Chiefly fugitives from justice.	300 (from Cashmere)	Artisans and weavers	To escape exactions.
Jhelum.						
Shahpore.						
Peshawur.						
Hazara.						
Kohat				162 families (equal to 810 persons).	Independent tribes.	
Total	5,336			27,297.		

(Signed) [redacted]N, Secretary to Government, Punjab.

Complaints against Rajah of Furreed-kote.

The Rajah has ruined his subjects by quartering troops on them.

Samandar Singh, Lumbardar, of Kôt Kapúra. Dated 23rd April 1852.

Forcibly took away a horse from one Chetan Singh, and imprisoned the man and two of his relatives. He collects revenue without following any regular system, and falsely accuses people of offences and plunders them. Horses, camels, &c., he appropriates to his own use without paying for them.

Debia and Rúpa were punished on a charge of theft in British territory. The Rajah also imposed fines on their families, and expelled the latter from their houses.

The Rajah exacts illegal cesses.

Charat Singh, Sher Singh, Dal Singh, and others of Taluka Kôt Kapúra. Dated 16th April 1856.

For the last nine years, from every village, he has collected 4 or 500 Rupees in excess of the proper demand. The accounts are not settled. He does not allow Lumbardarí dues; sells rights of cultivators, and appropriates the proceeds of sale himself.

In every village 15 ghumáos of land are cultivated for the Rajah, and the produce goes to him. Nevertheless, revenue is realized on this land also along with the village revenue; and when complaints were made to Commissioner, he imprisoned petitioners' relatives.

The following cesses are levied from each village:—

Supplies of one goat every half-year.
Ditto of coarse cloth without payment.
Ditto of ghee, according to capabilities of the village, every half-year.
Ditto of hemp.
Ditto of hides.

The produce of one kanal of gram, môth, &c., per plough:—

Supplies of fodder, one load per plough.
Ditto of tirnee tax (cash).
Ditto of milk and curds from every house in every village.
Ditto of atrafi cess (tax on artisans), camels, horses, cows, and bullocks at pleasure.
Begár (forced labour).
A piece of long timber from every Zemindar.
Roads have to be repaired without payment.

The Rajah collects excessive revenue.

Manda Singh and others. Dated 3rd April 1857.

Produce of two kanals is taken, and no deduction given in revenue on that account; four cart-loads of fodder annually taken from each cultivator.

One-fourth produce in the first year of newly-broken land.

The Rajah forcibly seized a bullock belonging to Dyal Singh, valued at Rs. 60.

Appropriates produce and collects revenue on land abandoned by any cultivator.

Collects (zakat) excise.

Makes us pay Chowkeedars (watchmen).

Enforces *Begár* (forced labour).

Took away Jiwan Singh's horse, value Rs. 100, without payment.

Demands nuzzerana for a Lumbardarship.

Has imprisoned the father of one of the petitioners, and placed guards on his house. Has turned them out of a house which they had built at Maharana at a cost of Rs. 1,300.

One of the petitioners complains that he is made to pay the whole revenue, although 600 ghumáos of his land has been taken away from him and made over to the "Bukshee" on payment of a nuzzerana of Rs. 200.

Six hundred ghumáos more have been transferred to other Zemindars.

His brother, Kanh Singh, has been put in prison. Milk was demanded, but when offered to be given it was refused and a fine of Rs. 40 taken.

Najíb Singh and others (40 men in all), and Amán Singh and others (86 men). Dated 12th September 1861.

Their villages have been over assessed. They have been deprived of puchotra dues (5 per cent. on collections paid to heads of villages by the British Government, atrafi dues (tax on artisans), four hundred ghumáos of cultivated land. When a man dies, notwithstanding leaving heirs, his estate is confiscated.

The Rajah taxes trades in addition to collecting choongee (town duties). The whole of the proprietary rights of Mouza Bhari which belonged to us he has made over to others.

Levies a tax of 2 to Rs. 300 on every widow marrying.

Complaint against deprivation of their rights. They complained to Commissioner, who commended them to the Vakil. But they never obtained redress.

Mahatab Singh and others. 15th January 1865.

In a case connected with a woman, he was fined by the Jullundur Court Rs. 20. In the same case the Rajah demands a fine of Rs. 40. A Sowar is appointed to realize the fine, and he is threatened expulsion from the village.

Kanh Singh of Kôt Kapúra. 14th January 1865.

Rajah has plundered his shop, valued Rs. 40,000; fined him Rs. 800; confiscated gram, valued Rs. 1,200, and fodder valued Rs. 1,000.

Bútakhatu of Kôt Kapúra. 13th January 1865.

Has made over his shop to complainant's brothers. Has more than once placed him in confinement; Government ordered redress. The Rajah had him beaten and demanded a razeenama.

Assessment of village raised from Rs. 160 to Rs. 700. His father has been imprisoned.

Karam Singh. 13th January 1865.

The Rajah has seized 26 cattle of his, and 500 ghumáos of land, and 2,000 maunds of grain.

Kala Singh. 13th January 1865.

Complains of being deprived of his village.

Jeet Singh. 22d September 1865.

Rajah has deprived him of 30 ghumáos of land, which he has given away to one Maluka on payment of Rs. 300.

Charat Singh and Godha Singh. 22d September 1865.

Six hundred ghumáos of land were declared free of revenue, under orders of British Government. The jumma was fixed at Rs. 262-8. The Rajah makes them pay, for the last 20 years, Rs. 412-8. They have been ruined in consequence.

Mula Singh, Jowahir Singh, and others of Kôt Kapúra. 22d September 1865.

Had a house, valued Rs. 100, at Kôt Kapúra. The Rajah sold it to a stranger for Rs. 60.

Fattah Din of Kôt Kapúra. Dated 25th September 1865.

His brother and himself were employed in the Rajah's service. The former has received nothing for the last 15 years; and the petitioner for last seven years; on asking for salary a fine was demanded, and petitioner's brother is in prison.

Rajah sold petitioner's house for Rs. 150 to a stranger. On petitioner's protesting, he was fined and placed in confinement.

Samand Singh, of Ilaka Kôt Kapúra (and 16 other complainants). 4th December 1865.

Complain of over-assessment and extortions. Their beards are ordered to be shaved. There are 60 men in confinement.

Sukha Mal and others, 12 men of Ilaka Kôt Kapúra. Date not given.

Jeala Pershad (an official of Rajah) exercises great tyranny.

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on 01 February, 2020